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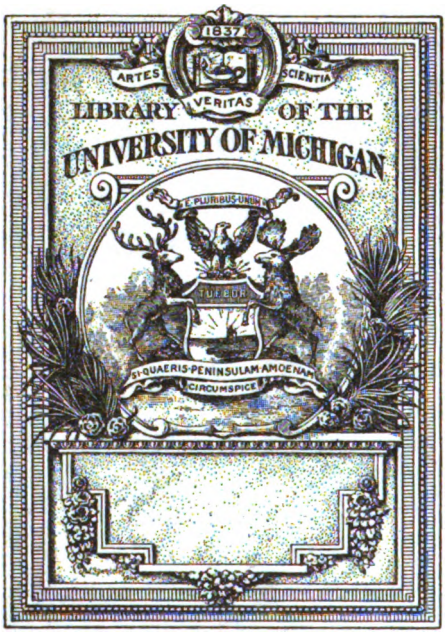

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THE WORKS OF EDMUND SPENSER

IN FIVE VOLUMES

VOL. V.

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THE WORKS OF

Edmund Spenser

EDITED BY

J. PAYNE COLLIER, F.S.A.

VOL. V.

LONDON
BICKERS AND SON 1 LEICESTER SQUARE
1873

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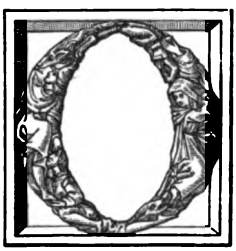
VISIONS OF THE WORLDS VANITIE.[a]

I.



ONE day, whiles that my daylie cares did ſleepe,
My ſpirit, ſhaking off her earthly priſon,
Began to enter into meditation deepe
Of things exceeding reach of common reaſon;
Such as this age, in which all good is geaſon,[b]
And all that humble is, and meane debaced,
Hath brought forth in her laſt declining ſeaſon,
Griefe of good mindes, to ſee goodneſſe diſgraced.
On which when as my thought was throghly placed,
Unto my eyes ſtrange ſhowes preſented were,
Picturing that which I in minde embraced,
That yet thoſe ſights empaſſion me full nere.

---

[a] *Viſions of the Worlds Vanitie.*] Theſe poems have no new title-page, but are included, like the "Viſions" of Bellay and Petrarch, under the general title of "Complaints," vol. iv. p. 289, the ſignatures running on from one portion of the work to the other. C.

[b] *in which all good is geaſon.*] All good is *rare*. See the note F. Q. vi. iv. 37 [vol. iv. p. 107]. Todd.

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Such as they were (faire Ladie)[c] take in worth,
That when time ſerves may bring things better forth.

2.

In Summers day, when Phœbus fairly ſhone,
I ſaw a Bull as white as driven ſnowe,
With gilden hornes embowed like the Moone,
In a freſh flowring meadow lying lowe:
Up to his eares the verdant graſſe did growe,
And the gay floures did offer to be eaten;
But he with fatnes ſo did overflowe,
That he all wallowed in the weedes downe beaten,
Ne car'd with them his daintie lips to ſweeten:
Till that a Brize,[d] a ſcorned little creature,
Through his faire hide his angrie ſting did threaten,
And vext ſo ſore, that all his goodly feature,
And all his plenteous paſture nought him pleaſed:
So by the ſmall the great is oft diſeaſed.

3.

Beſide the fruitfull ſhore of muddie Nile
Upon a ſunnie banke outſtretched lay,
In monſtrous length, a mightie Crocodile,
That, cram'd with guiltles blood and greedie pray
Of wretched people travailing that way,
Thought all things leſſe than his diſdainfull pride.

---

[c] *faire Ladie.*] See alſo the concluſion of the "Viſions of Petrarch." Theſe were dedicated probably to the ſame Lady; to whoſe name, however, we have no other guide than the circumſtance of theſe Viſions immediately following, in the edition of 1591, the "Muiopotmos," which is dedicated to Lady Carey; and of no ſeparate title to the "Viſions." TODD.

[d] *a Brize.*] A *gad* or *horſe-fly*. Cotgrave writes it the "*brizze* or *gadbee*." See Shakeſpeare's "Troilus and Creſſida," A. i. S. 3:—

"The herd hath more annoyance by the *brize*,
"Than by the tiger."

TODD. See alſo "Ant. and Cleop." A. iii. S. 8. Chapman, in his tranſlation of the "Odyſſey," B. xxii. l. 387, has this applicable couplet:—

"The high-fed bullocks fly, whom in the ſpring,
When days are long, *gad-bees* or *breezes* ſting." C.

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I ſaw a little Bird, cal'd Tedula,[e]
The leaſt of thouſands which on earth abide,
That forſt this hideous beaſt to open wide
The greiſly gates of his devouring hell,
And let him feede, as Nature did provide,
Upon his jawes, that with blacke venime ſwell.
  Why then ſhould greateſt things the leaſt diſdaine,
  Sith that ſo ſmall ſo mightie can conſtraine?

4.

The kingly Bird that beares Joves thunder-clap
One day did ſcorne the ſimple Scarabee,[f]
Proud of his higheſt ſervice, and good hap,
That made all other Foules his thralls to bee:
The ſilly Flie, that no redreſſe did ſee,
Spide where the Eagle built his towring neſt,
And, kindling fire within the hollow tree,
Burnt up his yong ones, and himſelfe diſtreſt:
Ne ſuffred him in anie place to reſt,
But drove in Joves owne lap his egs to lay;
Where gathering alſo filth him to infeſt,
Forſt with the filth his egs to fling away:
  For which when as the Foule was wroth, ſaid Jove,
  "Lo! how the leaſt the greateſt may reprove."

5.

Toward the ſea, turning my troubled eye,
I ſaw the fiſh (if fiſh I may it cleepe)
That makes the ſea before his face to flye,

---

[e] *a little Bird, cal'd Tedula.*] I ſuppoſe he means the little bird *Trochila;* which, Geſner informs us, is a ſmall ſea-bird that picks her meat out of the teeth of the crocodile, which, being thus eaſed, never moleſts her. Barnabie Rich, condemning the covetous and their ſupporters, makes the following alluſion to this bird, "Faults and nothing but Faults," 1606, fol. 11. b. "And how many have we that be of the *Trochiles* kinde, that doe cleanſe the jawes of theſe devouring Serpents that eate up the meanes that the poore have to live by," &c. TODD. Robert Greene has the ſame alluſion frequently. C.

[f] *the ſimple Scarabee.*] i. e. *Beetle.* Lat. *ſcarabæus.* TODD.

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And with his flaggie finnes doth ſeeme to ſweepe
The fomie waves out of the dreadfull deep,
The huge Leviathan, dame Natures wonder,
Making his ſport, that manie makes to weep:
A ſword-fiſh ſmall him from the reſt did ſunder,
That, in his throat him pricking ſoftly under,
His wide Abyſſe him forced forth to ſpewe,
That all the ſea did roare like heavens thunder,
And all the waves were ſtain'd with filthy hewe.
Hereby I learned have, not to deſpiſe
Whatever thing ſeemes ſmall in common eyes.

6.

An hideous Dragon, dreadfull to behold,
Whoſe backe was arm'd againſt the dint of ſpeare
With ſhields of braſſe that ſhone like burniſht golde,
And forkhed ſting that death in it did beare,
Strove with a Spider, his unequall peare,
And bad defiance to his enemie:
The ſubtill vermin, creeping cloſely neare,
Did in his drinke ſhed poyſon privilie;
Which, through his entrailes ſpredding diverſly,
Made him to ſwell, that nigh his bowells bruſt,[g]
And him enforſt to yeeld the victorie,
That did ſo much in his owne greatneſſe truſt.
O! how great vainneſſe is it then to ſcorne
The weake, that hath the ſtrong ſo oft forlorne!

7.

High on a hill a goodly Cedar grewe,
Of wondrous length and ſtreight proportion,

[g] *his bowells bruſt.*] Spenſer's accuſtomed mode of ſpelling *burſt*, agreeably to the practice of our old writers. See the note on *bruſt*, F. Q. iii. i. 48 [vol. ii. p. 354]. Some modern editions read *burſt*. Todd. If Todd had looked at the old folio 1611, he would have ſeen that it is not only "modern editions" that read *burſt*. The rhyme, as in the paſſage referred to in F. Q., requires "bruſt," and it is "bruſt" in the oldeſt impreſſion, the 4to. 1591. C.

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That farre abroad her daintie odours threwe:
Mongſt all the daughters of proud Libanon,
Her match in beautie was not anie one.
Shortly within her inmoſt pith there bred
A little wicked worme, perceiv'd of none,
That on her ſap and vitall moyſture fed:
Thenceforth her garland, ſo much honoured,
Began to die, (O, great ruth for the ſame!)
And her faire lockes fell from her loftie head,
That ſhortly balde and bared ſhe became.
I, which this ſight beheld, was much diſmayed
To ſee ſo goodly thing ſo ſoone decayed.

8.

Soone after this I ſaw an Elephant,
Adorn'd with bells and boſſes gorgeouſlie,
That on his backe did beare (as batteilant)[h]
A gilden towre, which ſhone exceedinglie;
That he himſelfe, through fooliſh vanitie,
Both for his rich attire and goodly forme,
Was puffed up with paſſing ſurquedrie,
And ſhortly gan all other beaſts to ſcorne.
Till that a little Ant, a ſilly worme,
Into his noſtrils creeping, ſo him pained
That, caſting down his towres, he did deforme
Both borrowed pride, and natures beautie ſtained.[i]
Let therefore nought that great is therein glorie,
Sith ſo ſmall thing his happines may varie.

9.

Looking far foorth into the Ocean wide,
A goodly ſhip with banners bravely dight,

---

[h] *as batteilant.*] The meaning is evident; but Spenſer is the only author we have met with who uſes this derivative from *battail*, which our dictionaries treat as a word diſtinct from *battle*—perhaps rightly. C.

[i] *and natures beautie ſtained.*] So the firſt impreſſion; and there can be no reaſon whatever for changing "natures" to *native*, as was done by Todd, who here followed the corruption of the folio 1611. C.

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And flag in her top-gallant, I eſpide
Through the maine ſea making her merry flight:
Faire blew the winde into her boſome right,
And th' heavens looked lovely all the while,
That ſhe did ſeeme to daunce, as in delight,
And at her owne felicitie did ſmile.
All ſodainely there clove unto her keele
A little fiſh,[k] that men call Remora,
Which ſtopt her courſe, and held her by the heele,
That winde nor tide could move her thence away.
Straunge thing, me ſeemeth, that ſo ſmall a thing
Should able be ſo great an one to wring.

10.

A mighty Lyon, Lord of all the wood,
Having his hunger throughly ſatisfide
With pray of beaſts and ſpoyle of living blood,
Safe in his dreadles den him thought to hide:
His ſterneſſe was his prayſe, his ſtrength his pride,
And all his glory in his cruell clawes.
I ſaw a waſp, that fiercely him defide,
And bad him battaile even to his jawes;
Sore he him ſtong, that it the blood forth drawes,
And his proude heart is fild with fretting ire:
In vaine he threats his teeth, his tayle, his pawes,
And from his bloodie eyes doth ſparkle fire;
That dead himſelfe he wiſheth for deſpight.
So weakeſt may anoy the moſt of might.

[k] *A little fiſh*, &c.] The *Remora* or *Sucker*; called by Oppian Ἔχενηὶς, *navem retinens*. It is a ſmall fiſh of the Eel-kind; which, according to vulgar report, can ſtop the largeſt ſhip under ſail, by ſticking underneath the keel. See "Catalogue of Oppian's Fiſhes." Todd. The ſuperſtition is perpetually alluded to by Engliſh authors, and thus alſo by Lucan:—

"—— puppim retinens Euro tendente rudentes
"In mediis echineis aquis." Phars. Lib. vi. 674. C.

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11.

What time the Romaine Empire bore the raine
Of all the world, and floriſht moſt in might,
The nations gan their ſoveraignetie diſdaine,
And caſt to quitt them from their bondage quight:
So, when all ſhrouded were in ſilent night,
The Galles were, by corrupting of a mayde,
Poſſeſt nigh of the Capitol through ſlight,
Had not a Gooſe the treachery bewrayde.
If then a Gooſe great Rome from ruine ſtayde,
And Jove himſelfe, the patron of the place,
Preſervd from being to his foes betrayde,
Why do vaine men mean things ſo much deface,
And in their might repoſe their moſt aſſurance,
Sith nought on earth can chalenge long endurance?

12.

When theſe ſad ſights were overpaſt and gone,
My ſpright was greatly moved in her reſt,
With inward ruth and deare affection,
To ſee ſo great things by ſo ſmall diſtreſt:
Thenceforth I gan in my engrieved breſt
To ſcorne all difference of great and ſmall,
Sith that the greateſt often are oppreſt,
And unawares doe into daunger fall.
And ye, that read theſe ruines tragicall,
Learne by their loſſe to love the low degree;
And, if that fortune chaunce you up to call
To honours ſeat, forget not what you be:
For he, that of himſelfe is moſt ſecure,
Shall finde his ſtate moſt fickle and unſure.

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THE VISIONS OF BELLAY.

I.

IT was the time,[a] when reſt, ſoft ſliding downe
From heavens hight into mens heavy eyes,
In the forgetfulnes of ſleepe doth drowne
The carefull thoughts of mortall miſeries;
Then did a Ghoſt before mine eyes appeare,
On that great rivers banck that runnes by Rome,
Which, calling me by name, bad me to reare
My lookes to heaven whence all good gifts do come,
And crying lowd, lo! now beholde (quoth hee)
What under this great temple placed is:
Lo! all is nought but flying vanitee!
So I, that know this worlds inconſtancies,

[a] *It was the time*, &c.] It is to be remarked, that moſt of theſe "Viſions," and the "Viſions of Petrarch" which follow, appeared, with ſome differences indeed from the preſent copies, both in regard to the nature of the verſe, to a few expreſſions, and to the arrangement of them, in "A Theatre for Worldlinges, &c. 12mo. 1569." At the cloſe of the "Viſions of Petrarch," I will ſubjoin the *early* "Viſions." Spenſer's own edition notices that the "Viſions of Petrarch" were *formerlie tranſlated*. He does not ſay by whom. The tranſlator might be himſelf. He was, in 1569, entered a member of the Univerſity of Cambridge. Todd. When originally printed the Viſions were accompanied by illuſtrative wood-cuts. C.

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Sith onely God ſurmounts all times decay,
In God alone my confidence do ſtay.

2.

On high hills top I ſaw a ſtately frame,
An hundred cubits high by juſt aſſize,
With hundredth pillours fronting faire the ſame,
All wrought with diamond after Dorick wize:
Nor brick nor marble was the wall in view,
But ſhining Chriſtall, which from top to baſe
Out of her womb a thouſand rayons threw,[b]
One hundred ſteps of Afrike golds enchaſe:
Golde was the parget;[c] and the ſeeling bright
Did ſhine all ſcaly with great plates of golde;
The floore of Jaſp[d] and Emeraude was dight.
O worlds vaineſſe! Whiles thus I did behold,
An earthquake ſhooke the hill from loweſt ſeat,
And overthrew this frame with ruine great.

3.

Then did a ſharped ſpyre of Diamond bright,
Ten feete each way in ſquare, appeare to mee,
Juſtly proportion'd up unto his hight,
So far as Archer might his level ſee:
The top thereof a pot did ſeeme to beare,
Made of the mettall which we moſt do honour;
And in this golden veſſel couched weare
The aſhes of a mightie Emperour:
Upon foure corners of the baſe were pight,[e]

---

[b] *a thouſand rayons threw.*] *Beams* or *rays.* Fr. *rayon.* TODD.

[c] *Golde was the parget.*] The *varniſh* or *plaſter.* See Cotgrave, in V. *Parget.* And alſo the verb, "to new-*parget* a wall," ibid. It is often uſed, as Mr. Steevens has remarked, by B. Jonſon. TODD. It ſeems originally to have been ſpelt "pariet," which afterwards became *parjet* and *parget.* Lat. *paries.* C.

[d] *The floore of Jaſp*] *Jaſper ſtone.* Fr. *jaſpe.* TODD.

[e] *of the baſe were pight.*] Of the baſe were *placed* or *fixed.* See vol. iii. p. 306, and many other places. C.

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To beare the frame, foure great Lyons of gold;
A worthy tombe for ſuch a worthy wight.
Alas! this world doth nought but grievance hold.
I ſaw a tempeſt from the heaven deſcend,
Which this brave monument with flaſh did rend.

4.

I ſaw rayſde up on yvorie pillowes tall,[f]
Whoſe baſes were of richeſt mettalls warke,
The chapters Alabaſter, the fryſes chriſtall,
The double front of a triumphall Arke:
On each ſide purtraid was a Victorie,
Clad like a Nimph, that winges of ſilver weares,
And in triumphant chayre was ſet on hie,
The auncient glory of the Romaine Peares.
No worke it ſeem'd of earthly craftſmans wit,
But rather wrought by his owne induſtry,
That thunder-dartes for Jove his ſyre doth fit.
Let me no more ſee faire thing under ſky,
Sith that mine eyes have ſeene ſo faire a fight
With ſodain fall to duſt conſumed quight.

5.

Then was the faire Dodonian tree far ſeene,
Upon ſeaven hills to ſpread his gladſome gleame,
And conquerours bedecked with his greene,
Along the bancks of the Auſonian ſtreame:
There many an auncient Trophee was addreſt,
And many a ſpoyle, and many a goodly ſhow,
Which that brave races greatnes did atteſt,
That whilome from the Troyan blood did flow.
Raviſht I was ſo rare a thing to vew;
When lo! a barbarous troupe of clowniſh fone
The honour of theſe noble boughs down threw:

---

[f] *on yvorie pillowes tall.*] It was *pillers* in 1569: the corruption was ſubſequently introduced. C.

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Under the wedge I heard the tronck to grone;
And, ſince, I ſaw the roote in great diſdaine
A twinne of forked trees ſend forth againe.

6.

I ſaw a Wolfe under a rockie cave
Nourſing two whelpes; I ſaw her litle ones
In wanton dalliance the teate to crave,
While ſhe her neck wreath'd from them for the nones:[g]
I ſaw her raunge abroad to ſeeke her food,
And roming through the field with greedie rage
T' embrew her teeth and clawes with lukewarm blood
Of the ſmall heards, her thirſt for to aſſwage.
I ſaw a thouſand huntſmen, which deſcended
Downe from the mountaines bordring Lombardie,
That with an hundred ſpeares her flank wide rended:
I ſaw her on the plaine outſtretched lie,
Throwing out thouſand throbs in her owne ſoyle;
Soone on a tree uphang'd I ſaw her ſpoyle.

7.

I ſaw the Bird that can the Sun endure
With feeble wings aſſay to mount on hight;
By more and more ſhe gan her wings t' aſſure,
Following th' enſample of her mothers ſight:
I ſaw her riſe, and with a larger flight
To pierce the cloudes, and with wide pinneons
To meaſure the moſt haughtie mountaines hight,
Untill ſhe raught[h] the Gods owne manſions:
There was ſhe loſt; when ſuddaine I behelde,
Where, tumbling through the ayre in firie fold,[i]

---

[g] *for the nones.*] For the *occaſion, for the once.* See the note, F. Q. v. xi. 14; vol. iv. p. 6. C.

[h] *Untill ſhe raught.*] *Reached,* the old and legitimate preter-perfect, as it ſhould ſeem, of *reach;* as *taught* is of *teach,* &c. TODD.

[i] *in firie fold.*] This may not mean *wrapped,* as it were, in fire;' but in fiery *lightning,* from the French. C.

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All flaming downe ſhe on the plaine was felde,
And ſoone her bodie turn'd to aſhes colde.
I ſaw the foule, that doth the light deſpiſe,
Out of her duſt like to a worme ariſe.

8.

I ſaw a river ſwift, whoſe fomy billowes
Did waſh the ground work of an old great wall;
I ſaw it cover'd all with grieſly ſhadowes,[k]
That with black horror did the ayre appall:
Thereout a ſtrange beaſt with ſeven heads aroſe,
That townes and caſtles under her breſt did coure,
And ſeem'd both milder beaſts and fiercer foes
Alike with equall ravine to devoure.
Much was I mazde to ſee this monſters kinde
In hundred formes to change his fearefull hew;
When as at length I ſaw the wrathfull winde,
Which blows cold ſtorms, burſt out of Scithian mew,
That ſperſt theſe cloudes; and, in ſo ſhort as thought,
This dreadfull ſhape was vaniſhed to nought.

9.

Then all aſtoined[l] with this mighty ghoaſt,
An hideous bodie big and ſtrong I ſawe,
With ſide long beard, and locks down hanging loaſt,
Sterne face, and front full of Saturnlike awe;
Who, leaning on the belly of a pot,
Pourd foorth a water, whoſe out guſhing flood
Ran bathing all the creakie ſhore aflot,
Whereon the Troyan prince ſpilt Turnus blood;
And at his feete a bitch wolfe ſuck did yeeld

[k] *with grieſly ſhadowes.*] So the old copies; but Todd printed "with *grieſſy* ſhadowes"—perhaps, a mere error of the preſs. C.

[l] *Then all aſtoined.*] So the edition of 1591; but we may reaſonably doubt whether "aſtoined" be not a miſprint, by the miſplacing of a letter, for *aſtonied*, which, in the ſenſe of *aſtoniſhed*, occurs in many writers. It is *aſtonied* in the folio 1611. Nevertheleſs both "aſtoynyd" and *ſtoynyd* occur in Phaer's tranſlation of the "Eneidos," 1558, Book iii. Twine, in 1584, abſurdly altered "aſtoynyd" to *I ſtoined*. C.

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To two young babes: his left the Palme tree ſtout,
His right hand did the peacefull Olive wield,
And head with Lawrell garniſht was about.
Sudden both Palme and Olive fell away,
And faire greene Lawrell branch did quite decay.

10.

Hard by a rivers ſide a virgin faire,
Folding her armes to heaven with thouſand throbs,
And outraging her cheekes and golden haire,
To falling rivers ſound thus tun'd her ſobs.
" Where is (quoth ſhe) this whilom honoured face?
Where the great glorie and the auncient praiſe,
In which all worlds felicitie had place,
When gods and men my honour up did raiſe?
Suffis'd it not that civill warres me made
The whole worlds ſpoile, but that this Hydra new,
Of hundred Hercules to be aſſaide,
With ſeven heads, budding monſtrous crimes anew,
So many Neroes and Caligulaes
Out of theſe crooked ſhores muſt dayly rayſe?"

11.

Upon an hill a bright flame I did ſee
Waving aloft with triple point to ſkie,
Which, like incenſe of precious Cedar tree,
With balmie odours fil'd th' ayre farre and nie.
A Bird all white, well feathered on each wing,
Hereout up to the throne of Gods did flie,
And all the way moſt pleaſant notes did ſing,
Whilſt in the ſmoake ſhe unto heaven did ſtie.[m]
Of this faire fire the ſcattered rayes forth threw
On everie ſide a thouſand ſhining beames;
When ſudden dropping of a ſilver dew
(O grievous chancee!) gan quench thoſe precious flames,

[m] *ſhe unto heaven did ſtie.*] Did *aſcend.* See vol. i. p. 161, &c. C.

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That it, which earſt ſo pleaſant ſent did yeld,
Of nothing now but noyous ſulphure ſmeld.

12.

I ſaw a ſpring out of a rocke forth rayle,
As cleare as Chriſtall gainſt the Sunnie beames,
The bottome yeallow, like the golden grayle[a]
That bright Pactolus waſheth with his ſtreames;
It ſeem'd that Art and Nature had aſſembled
All pleaſure there, for which mans hart could long;
And there a noyſe alluring ſleepe ſoft trembled,
Of manie accords more ſweete than Mermaids ſong:
The ſeates and benches ſhone as yvorie,
And hundred Nymphes ſate ſide by ſide about;
When from nigh hills, with hideous outcrie,
A troop of Satyres in the place did rout,
Which with their villeine feete the ſtreame did ray,[b]
Threw down the ſeats, and drove the Nymphs away.

13.

Much richer then that veſſell ſeem'd to bee,
Which did to that ſad Florentine appeare,
Caſting mine eyes farre off, I chaunſt to ſee
Upon the Latine Coaſt herſelfe to reare:
But ſuddenly aroſe a tempeſt great,
Bearing cloſe envie to theſe riches rare,
Which gan aſſaile this ſhip with dreadfull threat,
This ſhip to which none other might compare;
And finally the ſtorme impetuous
Sunke up theſe riches, ſecond unto none,
Within the gulfe of greedie Nereus.
I ſaw both ſhip and mariners each one,
And all that treaſure drowned in the maine:
But I the ſhip ſaw after raiſd againe.

---

[a] *like the golden grayle.*] Golden *gravel*, as in F. Q. i. vii. 6 [vol. i. p. 284]; v. ix. 19 [vol. iii. p. 449]. Todd.

[b] *the ſtreame did ray.*] The ſtreame did *beray*, or *make dirty*, as in vol. ii. p. 100. C.

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14.

Long having deeply gron'd theſe viſions ſad,
I ſaw a Citie, like unto that ſame
Which ſaw the meſſenger of tidings glad,
But that on ſand was built the goodly frame:
It ſeem'd her top the firmament did rayſe,
And no leſſe rich than faire, right worthie ſure
(If ought here worthie) of immortall dayes,
Or if ought under heaven might firme endure.
Much wondred I to ſee ſo faire a wall;
When from the Northerne coaſt a ſtorme aroſe,
Which breathing furie from his inward gall
On all which did againſt his courſe oppoſe,
Into a clowde of duſt ſperſt in the aire
The weake foundations of this Citie faire.

15.

At length, even at the time when Morpheus
Moſt trulie doth unto our eyes appeare,
Wearie to ſee the heavens ſtill wavering thus,
I ſaw Typhœus ſiſter comming neare;
Whoſe head, full bravely with a morion hidd,[P]
Did ſeeme to match the Gods in Majeſtie:
She, by a rivers bancke that ſwift downe ſlidd,
Over all the world did raiſe a Trophee hie;
An hundred vanquiſht Kings under her lay,
With armes bound at their backs in ſhamefull wize.
Whilſt I thus mazed was with great affray,
I ſaw the heavens in warre againſt her rize;
Then downe ſhe ſtricken fell with clap of thonder,
That with great noyſe I wakte in ſudden wonder.

P *with a morion hidd.*] *Head-piece*, Fr. *morion*. See alſo F. Q. vii. vii. 28 [vol. iv. p. 272]. In Strype's "Life of Archbiſhop Parker" there is an account of the arms to be ſupplied in 1569 by the Clergy, among which is mentioned the "MORION or *ſalet*," p. 274. TODD. Richardſon ſays from A. S. *myrran*, to repel. C.

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THE VISIONS OF PETRARCH.

FORMERLY TRANSLATED.

1.

BEING one day at my window all alone,
So manie ſtrange things happened me to ſee,
As much it grieveth me to thinke thereon.
At my right hand a Hynde appear'd to mee,
So faire as mote the greateſt God delite;
Two eager dogs did her purſue in chace,
Of which the one was blacke, the other white:
With deadly force ſo in their cruell race
They pincht the haunches of that gentle beaſt,
That at the laſt, and in ſhort time, I ſpide,
Under a Rocke, where ſhe alas! oppreſt,
Fell to the ground, and there untimely dide.
Cruell death vanquiſhing ſo noble beautie,
Oft makes me wayle ſo hard a deſtenie.

2.

After, at ſea a tall ſhip did appeare,
Made all of Heben and white Yvorie;
The ſailes of golde, of ſilke the tackle were:
Milde was the winde, calme ſeem'd the ſea to bee,
The ſkie eachwhere did ſhow full bright and faire:

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With rich treaſures this gay ſhip fraighted was;
But ſudden ſtorme did ſo turmoyle the aire,
And tumbled up the ſea, that ſhe (alas!)
Strake on a rock, that under water lay,
And periſhed paſt all recoverie.
O! how great ruth, and ſorrowfull aſſay,
Doth vex my ſpirite with perplexitie,
Thus in a moment to ſee loſt, and drown'd,
So great riches, as like cannot be found.[a]

3.

The heavenly branches did I ſee ariſe
Out of the freſh and luſtie Lawrell tree,
Amidſt the yong greene wood: of Paradiſe[b]
Some noble plant I thought my ſelfe to ſee.
Such ſtore of birds therein yſhrowded were,
Chaunting in ſhade their ſundrie melodie,
That with their ſweetnes I was raviſht nere.
While on this Lawrell fixed was mine eie,
The ſkie gan everie where to overcaſt,
And darkned was the welkin all about,
When ſudden flaſh of heavens fire out braſt,
And rent this royall tree quite by the roote;
Which makes me much and ever to complaine,
For no ſuch ſhadow ſhalbe had againe.

4.

Within this wood, out of a rocke did riſe
A ſpring of water, mildly rumbling downe,

[a] *like cannot be found.*] Compare this ſonnet with Sonnet 13 of "The Viſions of Bellay." C.

[b] *Amidſt the yong greene wood: of Paradiſe.*] We have very rarely made notes upon punctuation, but here modern editions are evidently ſo corrupt that we go out of our way to mention it. It has been uſual to put a colon after "Paradiſe," as if the line were to be read on "Amidſt the yong greene wood of Paradiſe:" but the meaning of the poet, as well as the old pointing, clearly carries on the ſenſe—

"of Paradiſe
Some noble plant I thought my ſelfe to ſee." C.

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Whereto approched not in anie wiſe
The homely ſhepheard, nor the ruder clowne;
But manie Muſes, and the Nymphes withall,
That ſweetly in accord did tune their voyce
To the ſoft ſounding of the waters fall;
That my glad hart thereat did much rejoyce:
But, while herein I tooke my chiefe delight,
I ſaw (alas!) the gaping earth devoure
The ſpring, the place, and all cleane out of ſight:
Which yet aggreeves my hart even to this houre,
And wounds my ſoule with rufull memorie,
To ſee ſuch pleaſures gon ſo ſuddenly.

5.

I ſaw a Phœnix in the wood alone,
With purple wings, and creſt of golden hewe:
Strange bird he was, whereby I thought anone,
That of ſome heavenly wight I had the vewe;
Untill he came unto the broken tree,
And to the ſpring that late devoured was.
What ſay I more? each thing at laſt we ſee
Doth paſſe away: the Phœnix there, alas!
Spying the tree deſtroid, the water dride,
Himſelfe ſmote with his beake, as in diſdaine,
And ſo foorthwith in great deſpight he dide;
That yet my heart burnes, in exceeding paine,
For ruth and pitie of ſo haples plight:
O, let mine eyes no more ſee ſuch a ſight!

6.

At laſt ſo faire a Ladie did I ſpie,
That thinking yet on her I burne and quake.
On hearbs and flowres ſhe walked penſively,
Milde, but yet love ſhe proudly did forſake:
White ſeem'd her robes, yet woven ſo they were,
As ſnow and golde together had been wrought;
Above the waſt a darke cloude ſhrouded her.

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A ſtinging Serpent by the heele her caught,
Wherewith ſhe languiſht as the gathered floure;
And, well aſſur'd, ſhe mounted up to joy.
Alas! on earth ſo nothing doth endure,
But bitter griefe and ſorrowfull annoy,
  Which make this life wretched and miſerable,
  Toſſed with ſtormes of fortune variable.

7.

When I beheld this tickle truſtles ſtate
Of vaine worlds glorie, flitting too and fro,
And mortall men toſſed by troublous fate
In reſtles ſeas of wretchednes and woe,
I wiſh I might this weary life forgoe,
And ſhortly turne unto my happie reſt,
Where my free ſpirite might not any moe
Be vext with ſights that doo her peace moleſt.
And ye, faire Ladie, in whoſe bounteous breſt
All heavenly grace and vertue ſhrined is,
When ye theſe rythmes doo read, and vew the reſt,
Loath this baſe world, and thinke of heavens blis:
  And though ye be the faireſt of Gods creatures,
  Yet thinke, that death ſhall ſpoyle your goodly features.[c]

[c] I have already ſpoken of theſe Emblems or Viſions having appeared, in a form ſomewhat different, long before the publication of them by Spenſer's bookſeller in 1591. Whether they are the productions of Spenſer, it is not for me abſolutely to determine; but the reader muſt obſerve that, in the title of theſe "Viſions of Petrarch," a notification is made that they were FORMERLY TRANSLATED.

The title, then, of the Book in which theſe Viſions had appeared, is, "A Theatre wherein be repreſented as wel the miſeries and calamities that follow the voluptuous Worldlings, As alſo the greate joyes and pleſures which the faithfull do enjoy. An Argument both profitable and delectable to all that ſincerely love the word of God. Deviſed by S. Iohn vander Noodt. Seene and allowed according to the order appointed. Imprinted at London, by Henry Bynneman, Anno Domini 1569." 12mo. Then follow two pages of Latin verſes—"In commendationem operis ab Nobiliſſ. et virtutis ſtudioſiſſimo Domino, Ioanne vander Noodt, Patricio Antuerpienſi, æditi Carmen;" and

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"Doctor Gerardus Gooſſenius, Medicus, Phyſicus, et Poeta Brabant moder. in Zoilum Octaſtichon." And a Dedication to Q. Elizabeth, dated "At London, your Majeſties Citie and ſeate royal, the 25. of May, 1569;" and ſigned, "Your Majeſties moſt humble ſervant *Iean vander Noodt.*"[a]

Then follow the poems; viz. Spenſer's ſix "Viſions of Petrarch," with four additional lines at the end. And theſe ſix are called "Epigrams." Then the remaining poems, all entitled "Sonets;" with wooden cuts deſcriptive of the ſubject of the poems.

Then the proſe commences, conſiſting of 107 leaves, entitled "A brieſe declaration of the Authour upon his *Viſions*, taken out of the holy ſcriptures, and dyvers Orators, Poetes, Philoſophers, and true hiſtories. Tranſlated out of French into Engliſh by Theodore Roeſt." bl. l. The following is an extract. "And to ſette the vanitie and inconſtancie of worldly and tranſitorie thyngs the livelier before your eyes, I have broughte in here *twentie ſightes or vyſions, and cauſed them to be grauen*, to the ende al men may ſee that with their eyes, whiche I go aboute to expreſſe by writing, to the delight and pleſure of the eye and eares, according unto the ſaying of Horace,—

'Omne tulit punctum, qui miſcuit utile dulci.'

That is to ſay,—

'He that teacheth pleaſantly and well,
Doth in eche poynt all others excell.'

Of which oure viſions the learned Poete M. Franciſce Petrarche, Gentleman of Florence, did invente and write in Tuſcan *the ſix firſte*, after ſuche tyme as hee had loved honeſtly the ſpace of xxi yeares a faire, gracious, and a noble Damoſell, named Laurette, or (as it pleſed him beſt) Laura, borne of Avinion, who afterward hapned to die, he being in Italy, for whoſe death (to ſhewe his great grief) he mourned ten years togyther; and, amongeſt many of his ſongs and ſorrowfull lamentations, deviſed and made a Ballade or ſong, contayning *the ſayd viſions; which*, bicauſe they ſerve wel to our purpoſe, *I have, out of the Brabants ſpeache, turned them into the Engliſhe tongue.*" fol. 13.

"The *other ten viſions* next enſuing, ar deſcribed of one Ioachim du Bellay, Gentleman of France; *the whiche* alſo, bicauſe they ſerve to our purpoſe, *I have tranſlated them out of Dutch into Engliſh.*" fol. 14.

I now preſent the reader with theſe Viſions, the more remarkable in the following tranſlation as being principally in blank verſe. Spenſer, I have before remarked, was, at the time when the aforeſaid book was publiſhed, viz. in 1569, a member of the Univerſity of Cambridge.

1.

IT was the time when reſt, the gift of Gods,
Sweetely ſliding into the eyes of men,

---

[a] *Iean vander Noodt.*] We have ſupplied various particulars, and ſome paſſages which Todd omitted either by deſign or inadvertence; and we have collated the poems which follow with the originals, and have corrected the whole in more than fifty places. C.

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Doth drowne in the forgetfulneſſe of ſlepe
The carefull travailes of the painefull day:
Then did a ghoſt appeare before mine eyes,
On that great rivers bank that runnes by Rome;
And, calling me then by my propre name,
He bade me upwarde unto heaven looke:
He cride to me; and, loe, (quod he) beholde
What under this great Temple is containde;
Loe, all is nought but flying vanitie.
So I, knowing the worldes unſtedfaſtneſſe,
Sith onely God ſurmountes the force of tyme,
In God alone do ſtay my confidence.

2.

ON hill a frame an hundred cubites hie
I ſawe, an hundred pillers eke about,
All of fine diamant decking the front,
And faſhiond were they all in Dorike wiſe.
Of bricke, ne yet of marble was the wall,
But ſhining chriſtall, which from top to baſe
Out of deepe vaute threw forth a thouſand rayes
Upon an hundred ſteps of pureſt golde:
Golde was the parget; and the ſielyng eke
Did ſhine all ſcaly with fine golden plates:
The floore was Jaſpis, and of Emeraude.
O worldes vaineneſſe! A ſodein earthquake, loe,
Shaking the hill even from the bottome deepe,
Threw downe this building to the loweſt ſtone.

3.

THEN did appeare to me a ſharped ſpire
Of diamant, ten feete eche way in ſquare,
Juſtly proportionde up unto his height,
So hie as mought an archer reache with ſight.
Upon the top thereof was ſet a pot,
Made of the mettall that we honour moſt;
And in this golden veſſell couched were
The aſhes of a mightie Emperour.
Upon foure corners of the baſe there lay,
To beare the frame, foure great Lions of golde
A worthie tombe for ſuch a worthie corps.
Alas, nought in this world but grieſe endures:
A ſudden tempeſt from the heaven, I ſaw,
With flaſhe ſtroke downe this noble monument.

4.

I SAW raiſde up on pillers of Ivorie,
Whereof the baſes were of richeſt golde,
The chapters Alabaſter, Chriſtall friſes,
The double front of a triumphall arke.
On eche ſide portraide was a victorie,
With golden wings, in habite of a Nymph,

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And ſet on hie, upon triumphing chaire,
The auncient glorie of the Romane lordes.
The worke did ſhew it ſelfe not wrought by man,
But rather made by his owne ſkilfull hande
That forgeth thunder dartes for Jove his fire.
Let me no more ſee faire thing under heauen,
Sith I have ſeene ſo faire a thing as this,
With ſodaine falling broken all to duſt.

5.

THEN I behelde the faire Dodonian tree
Upon ſeven hilles throw forth his gladſome ſhade,
And conquerers bedecked with his leaves,
Along the bankes of the Italian ſtreame.
There many auncient Trophees were erect,
Many a ſpoile, and many goodly ſignes
To ſhewe the greatneſſe of the ſtately race
That erſt deſcended from the Trojan bloud.
Raviſht I was to ſee ſo rare a thing,
When barbarous villaines, in diſordred heape,
Outraged the honour of theſe noble bowes:
I heard the tronke to grone under the wedge,
And, ſince, I ſaw the roote in hie diſdaine
Sende forth againe a twinne of forked trees.

6.

I SAW the birde that dares beholde the Sunne
With feeble flight venture to mount to heaven,
By more and more ſhe gan to truſt hir wings,
Still following th' example of hir damme:
I ſaw hir riſe, and with a larger flight
Surmount the toppes even of the hieſt hilles,
And pierce the cloudes, and with hir wings to reach
The place where is the temple of the Gods;
There was ſhe loſt, and ſodenly I ſaw
Where tombling through the aire in lompe of fire,
All flaming, downe ſhe fell upon the plaine.
I ſaw hir bodie turned all to duſt,
And ſaw the foule that ſhunnes the cherefull light
Out of hir aſhes as a worme ariſe.

7.

THEN all aſtonned with this nightly ghoſt,
I ſaw an hideous body big and ſtrong;
Long was his bearde, and ſide did hang his hair,
A griſly forehed and Saturnlike face.
Leaning againſt the belly of a pot,
He ſhed a water, whoſe outguſhing ſtreame
Ran flowing all along the creekie ſhoare,
Where once the Troyan Duke with Turnus fought.
And at his feete a bitch wolfe did give ſucke
To two yong babes. In his right hand he bare

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The Tree of peace, in left the conquering Palme;
His head was garniſht with the Laurel bow.
Then ſodenly the Palme and Olive fell,
And faire greene Laurel witherd up and dide.

8.

HARD by a rivers ſide a wailing Nimphe,
Folding hir armes with thouſand ſighs to heave,
Did tune her plaint to falling rivers ſound,
Renting hir faire viſage and golden haire.
Where is (quod ſhe) this whilome honored face?
Where is thy glory and the auncient praiſe
Where all worldes hap was repoſed,
When erſt of Gods and man I worſhipt was?
Alas, ſuffiſde it not that civile bate
Made me the ſpoile and bootie of the world,
But this new Hydra, mete to be aſſailde
Even by an hundred ſuch as Hercules,
With ſeven ſpringing heds of monſtrous crimes,
So many Neroes and Caligulaes
Muſt ſtill bring forth to rule this croked ſhore.

9.

UPON a hill I ſaw a kindled flame,
Mounting like waves with triple point to heaven,
Which of incenſe of precious Ceder tree,
With Balme-like odor did perfume the aire.
A bird all white, well fetherd on her winges
Hereout did flie up to the throne of Gods,
And ſinging with moſt pleſant melodie
She climbed up to heaven in the ſmoke.
Of this faire fire the faire diſperſed rays
Threw forth abrode a thouſand ſhining leames,
When ſodain dropping of a golden ſhoure
Gan quench the glyſtering flame. O grevous chaunge!
That, which erſtwhile ſo pleaſaunt ſcent did yelde,
Of Sulphure now did breathe corrupted ſmel.

10.

I SAW a freſh ſpring riſe out of a rocke,
Clere as Chriſtall againſt the ſunny beames,
The bottome yellow, like the ſhining land
That golden Pactol drives upon the plaine.
It ſeemed that arte and nature ſtrived to joyne
There in one place all pleaſures of the eye:
There was to heare a noiſe alluring ſlepe
Of many accordes, more ſwete than Mermaids ſongs.
The ſeates and benches ſhone as Ivorie,
An hundred Nymphes ſate ſide by ſide about,
When from nie hilles a naked rout of Faunes
With hideous cry aſſembled on the place,
Which with their feete uncleane the water fouled,
Threw down the ſeats & droue the Nimphs to flight.

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II.

AT length, even at the time when Morpheus
Moſt truely doth appeare unto our eyes,
Wearie to ſee th' inconſtance of the heavens,
I ſaw the great Typhæus ſiſter come,
Hir head full bravely with a morian armed;
In majeſtie ſhe ſeemde to matche the Gods:
And on the ſhore, harde by a violent ſtreame,
She raiſde a Trophee over all the worlde:
An hundred vanquiſht kings gronde at her feete,
Their armes in ſhamefull wiſe bounde at their backes.
While I was with ſo dreadfull ſight afrayde,
I ſaw the heavens warre againſt her tho,
And ſeing hir ſtriken fall with clap of thunder,
With ſo great noyſe I ſtart in ſodaine wonder.

It muſt here be obſerved that the ſixth, eighth, thirteenth, and fourteenth "Viſions of Bellay," which are in Spenſer's tranſlation as publiſhed in 1591, are not in the "Theatre for Worldlings;" but four others are ſubſtituted, of which the writer thus ſpeaks: "And, to the ende we myght ſpeake more at large of the thing, I have taken *foure viſions out of the revelation of S. John*, where as the Holy Ghoſt by S. John ſetteth him (Antichriſt) out in his colours." Fol. 20.

As the book is not often to be met with, and as the ſubject is ſo much connected with Spenſer's poetry, the reader might be diſpleaſed if I withheld the four different Viſions from his peruſal.

I.

I SAW an ugly beaſt come from the ſea,
That ſeven heads, ten crounes, ten hornes did beare,
Having theron the vile blaſpheming name.
The cruell Leopard ſhe reſembled much:
Feete of a beare, a Lions throte ſhe had.
The mightie Dragon gave to hir his power.
One of hir heads yet there I did eſpie,
Still freſhly bleeding of a grievous wounde.
One cride aloude; What one is like (quod he)
This honoured Dragon, or may him withſtande?
And then came from the ſea a ſavage beaſt,
With Dragons ſpeche, and ſhewde his force by fire,
With wondrous ſignes to make all wights adore
The beaſt, in ſetting of hir image up.

2.

I SAW a Woman ſitting on a beaſt,
Before mine eyes, of Orenge colour hew;
Horrour and dreadfull name of blaſphemie
Filde her with pride: And ſeven heads I ſaw;
Ten hornes alſo the ſtately beaſt did beare.
She ſeemde with glorie of the ſcarlet faire,
And with fine perle and golde puſt up in heart:
The wine of hooredome in a cup ſhe bare;

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The name of Myſterie writ in her face;
The bloud of Martyrs dere were hir delite.
Moſt fierce and fell this Woman ſeemde to me:
An Angell then, deſcending downe from Heaven,
With thondring voice cride out aloude, and ſayd,
Now for a truth great Babylon is fallen.

3.

THEN might I ſee upon a white horſe ſet
The faithfull man with flaming countenaunce;
His head did ſhine with crounes ſet therupon:
The worde of God made him a noble name.
His precious robe I ſaw embrued with bloud:
Then ſaw I from the heaven on horſes white,
A puiſſant armie come the ſelfe ſame way.
Then cried a ſhining Angell, as me thought,
That birdes from aire deſcending downe on earth
Should warre upon the kings, and eate their fleſh:
Then did I ſee the beaſt and Kings alſo
Joinyng their force to ſlea the faithfull man.
But this fierce hatefull beaſt, and all hir traine,
Is pitileſſe throwne downe in pit of fire.

4.

I SAW new Earth, new Heaven, ſayde Saint John.
And loe, the ſea (quod he) is now no more:
The holy Citie of the Lorde, from hye
Deſcendeth garniſht as a loved ſpouſe.
A voice then ſayde, beholde the bright abode
Of God and men. For he ſhall be their God,
And all their teares he ſhall wipe cleane away:
His brightneſſe greater was than can be founde.
Square was this Citie, and twelve gates it had:
Eche gate was of an orient perfect pearle;
The houſes golde, the pavement precious ſtone.
A lively ſtreame, more cleere than Chriſtall is,
Ranne through the mid, ſprong from triumphant ſeat.
There growes lifes fruite unto the Churches good.

As to the "Viſions of Petrarch" in this little volume, they are very nearly the ſame with Spenſer's *avowed* tranſlations; the following being the only variations.

The FIRST is literally word for word the ſame as Spenſer's, except that, in the ninth line, "The Theatre" reads "*this* gentle beaſt; and Spenſer, "*that* gentle beaſt."

In the SECOND, "The Theatre" at the end of the line *Strake on a rock*, &c. places a full point, and then reads:

"O great misfortune, O great griefe, I ſay,
"Thus in one moment to ſee loſt and drownde
"So great riches, as lyke cannot be founde."

In the THIRD, "The Theatre" reads "*a* freſh" inſtead of "*the* freſh;"

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and, in the ſeventh line, "My ſprites were raviſht with theſe pleaſures there."

The FOURTH preſents the following variations in "The Theatre," viz. in the firſt line, "*the* rocke;" in the ſeventh, "*Unto* the *gentle* ſounding of the waters fall;" in the eighth, "*The ſight whereof* dyd *make* my heart rejoyce;" in the ninth, "But while I *toke herein*," &c. The thirteenth and fourteenth lines are not in "The Theatre."

The FIFTH contains no other difference in "The Theatre," except that, in the ſeventh line, "at *length*" occurs inſtead of "at *laſt*;" and that, inſtead of the three laſt lines of Spenſer's avowed tranſlation, the "Viſion" cloſes with the following line: "For pitie and love my heart yet burnes in paine."

In the SIXTH, the only variations, which "The Theatre" exhibits, are "*in* thinking" inſtead of "thinking *yet*" in the ſecond line; "*in* earth" inſtead of "*on* earth" in the eleventh; "But bitter griefe *that dothe our hearts* anoy," in the twelfth; and the want of the 13th and 14th lines.

Spenſer's SEVENTH occurs not in "The Theatre." But to the ſix preceding ("Epigrams" as they are alſo called) are added theſe four lines:

"My Song thus now, in thy Concluſions,
"Say boldly that theſe ſame *fix viſions*
"Do yelde unto thy lorde a ſweete requeſt,
"Ere it be long, within the earth to reſt."

I will only add here, that the book, though entitled "A Theatre for Worldlings," conſiſts chiefly of predictions of the ruin of Rome and fall of Antichriſt; a ſubject particularly intereſting to Spenſer. TODD.

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COLIN CLOUTS COME HOME AGAINE.

BY ED. SPENCER.

LONDON
Printed for *William Ponſonbie*,
1595.

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TO THE RIGHT WORTHY AND NOBLE KNIGHT

SIR WALTER RALEIGH,

Captaine of her Majeſties Guard, Lord Wardein of the Stanneries, and Lieutenant of the Countie of Cornwall.

SIR,

THAT you may ſee that I am not alwaies ydle as yee thinke, though not greatly well occupied, nor altogither undutifull, though not preciſely officious, I make you preſent of this ſimple paſtorall, unworthie of your higher conceipt for the meaneſſe of the ſtile, but agreeing with the truth in circumſtance and matter. The which I humbly beſeech you to accept in part of paiment of the infinite debt in which I acknowledge my ſelfe bounden unto you, for your ſingular favours, and ſundrie good turnes, ſhewed to me at my late being in England; and with your good countenance protect againſt the malice of evill mouthes, which are alwaies wide open to carpe at and miſconſtrue my ſimple meaning. I pray continually for your happineſſe. From my houſe of Kilcolman, the 27. of December. 1591.[a]

Yours ever humbly.

ED. SP.

---

[a] 27. *of December.* 1591]. Todd adds between brackets, "rather perhaps 1595;" but we give the date it bears in the original and in all ſubſequent early impreſſions. The point of the real time of the appearance of the poem is conſidered in the biography of the Poet. This dedication is ſubſcribed only Ed. Sp. in all editions; but on the title-page the name is ſpelt at length "Spencer," and not *Spenſer.* C.

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COLIN CLOUTS COME HOME AGAIN.

THE ſhepheards boy (beſt knowen by that name)[a]
That after Tityrus firſt ſung his lay,
Laies of ſweet love, without rebuke or blame,
Sate (as his cuſtom was) upon a day,
Charming his oaten pipe[b] unto his peres,
The ſhepheard ſwaines that did about him play:
Who all the while, with greedie liſtfull eares,
Did ſtand aſtoniſht at his curious ſkill,
Like hartleſſe deare diſmayd with thunders ſound.
At laſt, when as he piped had his fill,
He reſted him; and, ſitting then around,
One of thoſe groomes (a jolly groome was he

---

[a] *beſt knowen by that name.*] The line requires that "knowen" ſhould be read as two ſyllables, and it is ſo printed in all editions after the firſt: in that of 1595, however, it erroneouſly ſtands *knowne*, conſequently one ſyllable. It was Spenſer's practice to write "knowen" under ſuch circumſtances, and we may be ſure that *knowne* for "knowen" was only a miſtake by the old compoſitor. Tityrus, in the ſecond line, is, of courſe, Chaucer. C.

[b] *Charming his oaten pipe*, &c.] See the note on F. Q. v. ix. 13. T. WARTON. Vol. iii. p. 447, of this edition; where T. Warton's notion that the phraſe "to charm the tongue" did not mean *to be ſilent* is ſet right. See alſo vol. i. p. 119. C.

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As ever piped on an oaten reed,
And lov'd this ſhepheard deareſt in degree,
Hight Hobbinol)[c] gan thus to him areed.
"Colin, my liefe, my life, how great a loſſe
Had all the ſhepheards nation by thy lacke;
And I, poore ſwaine, of many, greateſt croſſe!
That ſith thy Muſe firſt ſince thy turning backe
Was heard to ſound as ſhe was wont on hye,
Haſt made us all ſo bleſſed and ſo blythe.
Whileſt thou waſt hence, all dead in dole did lie:
The woods were heard to waile full many a ſythe,[d]
And all their birds with ſilence to complaine:
The fields with faded flowers did ſeem to mourne,
And all their flocks from feeding to refraine:
The running waters wept for thy returne,
And all their fiſh with languour did lament.
But now, both woods and fields and floods revive,
Sith thou art come, their cauſe of meriment,
That us, late dead, haſt made againe alive:
But were it not too painefull to repeat
The paſſed fortunes, which to thee befell
In thy late voyage, we thee would entreat,
Now at thy leiſure them to us to tell."
To whom the ſhepheard gently anſwered thus:
"Hobbin, thou tempteſt me to that I covet;
For of good paſſed newly to diſcus,
By dubble uſurie doth twiſe renew it.
And ſince I ſaw that Angels bleſſed eie,
Her worlds bright ſun, her heavens faireſt light,

[c] *Hight Hobbinol.*] We have ſeen in the "Shep. Cal." in various places, that by "Hobbinol" Spenſer intended Gabriel Harvey. C.

[d] *full many a ſythe.*] Full many a *time*. Gower, in "Conf. Am." uſes "ofte ſithe" in the ſame way, for *often times*. It does not, of courſe, here mean that the woods were frequently heard to wail with many *ſighs*, but that they were frequently heard to wail. We have "ſith" for *ſince* lower down. C.

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My mind, full of my thoughts ſatietie,
Doth feed on ſweet contentment of that ſight:
Since that ſame day in nought I take delight,
Ne feeling have in any earthly pleaſure,
But in remembrance of that glorious bright,
My lifes ſole bliſſe, my hearts eternall threaſure.
Wake then, my pipe! my ſleepie Muſe, awake;
Till I have told her praiſes laſting long:
Hobbin deſires thou maiſt it not forſake;
Harke then, ye jolly ſhepheards, to my ſong."

With that they all gan throng about him neare,
With hungrie eares to heare his harmonie;
The whiles their flocks, devoyd of dangers feare,
Did round about them feed at libertie.

" One day (quoth he) I ſat, (as was my trade)
Under the foote of Mole, that mountaine hore,
Keeping my ſheepe amongſt the cooly ſhade
Of the greene alders by the Mullaes ſhore:[e]
There a ſtraunge ſhepheard chaunſt to find me out,
Whether allured with my pipes delight,
Whoſe pleaſing ſound yſhrilled far about,
Or thither led by chaunce, I know not right:
Whom when I aſked from what place he came,
And how he hight, himſelfe he did ycleepe
The ſhepheard of the Ocean by name,
And ſaid he came far from the main-ſea deepe.
He, ſitting me beſide in that ſame ſhade,
Provoked me to plaie ſome pleaſant fit;[f]

[e] *Of the greene alders by the Mullaes ſhore.*] The *Mulla* (noted for excellent trouts and fine eels, alſo ſalmon, and ſome carp, perch, and tench) is the river *Awbeg;* which runs not far from Kilcolman [Spenſer's reſidence], and waſhes Buttevant, Doneraile, Caſtletown-Roch, &c. Spenſer alſo celebrates the *Mulla*, F. Q. vii. vi. 40. Smith's " Hiſt. of Cork," vol. i. p. 342. Todd. The ſtory is there, vol. iv. p. 255, not of Mulla, but of Molanna, the ſiſter of Mulla. C.

[f] *to plaie ſome pleaſant fit.*] *Strain* or *air*. A *fit*, ſays Mr. Steevens, was a part or diviſion of a ſong; ſometimes a ſtrain in muſic; and

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And, when he heard the muſicke which I made,
He found himſelfe full greatly pleaſd at it:
Yet, æmuling my pipe,[g] he tooke in hond
My pipe, before that æmuled of many,
And plaid theron, (for well that ſkill he cond)
Himſelfe as ſkilfull in that art as any.
He pip'd, I ſung; and, when he ſung, I piped;
By chaunge of turnes, each making other mery;
Neither envying other, nor envied,
So piped we, untill we both were weary."
There interrupting him, a bonie ſwaine,
That Cuddy hight, him thus atweene beſpake:
"And, ſhould it not thy readie courſe reſtraine,
I would requeſt thee, Colin, for my ſake,
To tell what thou didſt ſing, when he did plaie;
For, well I weene, it worth recounting was,
Whether it were ſome hymne, or morall laie,
Or carol made to praiſe thy loved laſſe."
"Nor of my love, nor of my laſſe,[h] (quoth he)
I then did ſing, as then occaſion fell;
For love had me forlorne, forlorne of me,
That made me in that deſart choſe to dwell.
But of my river Bregogs love I ſoong,

ſometimes a meaſure in dancing. The reader will find the word illuſtrated in the two former ſenſes by Dr. Percy in the firſt volume of the "Reliques of Ancient Engliſh Poetry," and in the latter by Mr. Steevens in his note on Shakeſpeare's "Troil. and Creſſ." A. iii. S. 1. See alſo F. Q. i. xi. 7 [vol. ii. p. 49]. Todd. Biſhop Percy explains the application of the word "fit" not in his *firſt*, but in his ſecond volume: edit. 1765, p. 161; edit. 1775, p. 168; and edit. 1812, p. 190. C.

[g] *Yet, æmuling my pipe.*] See alſo *æmuled* in the next line. This verb is probably of Spenſer's coinage. Todd. It has not been ſince uſed, excepting, as Richardſon ſhows, by Edwards: all other writers have *emulating* and *emulated*. C.

[h] *nor of my laſſe.*] It is ſingular, in connection with the next line but two—"For love had me forlorne, forlorne of me"—that in the firſt impreſſion of this poem "laſſe" is miſprinted *loſſe*. Nobody has hitherto noticed the variation, and all ſubſequent editions read "laſſe." C.

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Which to the ſhiny Mulla he did beare,
And yet doth beare, and ever will, ſo long
As water doth within his bancks appeare."
"Of fellowſhip (ſaid then that bony Boy)
Record to us that lovely lay againe;
The ſtaie whereof ſhall nought theſe eares annoy,
Who all that Colin makes do covet faine."
"Heare then (quoth he) the tenor of my tale,
In ſort as I it to that ſhepheard told:
No leaſing new, nor Grandams fable ſtale,
But auncient truth confirm'd with credence old.
"Old father Mole (Molė hight that mountain gray
That walls the Northſide of Armulla dale)
He had a daughter freſh as floure of May,
Which gave that name unto that pleaſant vale;
Mulla, the daughter of old Mole, ſo hight
The Nimph which of that water courſe has charge,
That, ſpringing out of Mole, doth run downe right
To Buttevant, where, ſpreading forth at large,
It giveth name unto that auncient Cittie,
Which Kilnemullah cleped is of old;
Whoſe ragged ruines breed great ruth and pittie
To travailers, which it from far behold.
Full faine ſhe lov'd, and was belov'd full faine
Of her owne brother river, Bregog hight,
So hight becauſe of this deceitfull traine,[1]
Which he with Mulla wrought to win delight.
But her old ſire, more carefull of her good,
And meaning her much better to preferre,
Did thinke to match her with the neighbour flood,
Which Allo hight, Broad water called farre;
And wrought ſo well with his continuall paine,

[1] *So hight becauſe of this deceitfull traine.*] The etymology of *Bregog*, according to Llhuyd, as Mr. Walker has obſerved, means *falſe* or *lying*. Todd.

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That he that river for his daughter wonne:
The dowre agreed, the day aſſigned plaine,
The place appointed where it ſhould be doone.
Nathleſſe the Nymph her former liking held;
For love will not be drawne, but muſt be ledde;
And Bregog did ſo well her fancie weld,[k]
That her good will he got her firſt to wedde.
But for her father, ſitting ſtill on hie,
Did warily ſtill watch which way ſhe went,
And eke from far obſerv'd with jealous eie,
Which way his courſe the wanton Bregog bent,
Him to deceive, for all his watchfull ward,
The wily lover did deviſe this ſlight:
Firſt into many parts his ſtreame he ſhar'd,
That, whileſt the one was watcht, the other might
Paſſe uneſpide to meete her by the way;
And then, beſides, thoſe little ſtreames ſo broken
He under ground ſo cloſely did convay,
That of their paſſage doth appeare no token,
Till they into the Mullaes water ſlide.
So ſecretly did he his love enjoy:
Yet not ſo ſecret, but it was deſcride,
And told her father by a ſhepheards boy;
Who, wondrous wroth for that ſo foule deſpight,
In great avenge did roll downe from his hill
Huge mightie ſtones, the which encomber might
His paſſage, and his water-courſes ſpill.[l]
So of a River, which he was of old,
He none was made, but ſcattred all to nought;

[k] *ſo well her fancie weld.*] It is juſt worth obſerving, in reference to the frequent miſtakes between *f* and *ſ*, that "fancie" was here miſprinted *ſancie* in 1595. In the next line but one, "But for her father" is to be underſtood as "But *becauſe* her father." C.

[l] *and his water-courſes ſpill.*] "Spill" and *ſpoil* appear to be the ſame word: ſee vol. iv. p. 36. C.

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And, loſt emong thoſe rocks into him rold,
Did loſe his name: ſo deare his love he bought."
  Which having ſaid, him Theſtylis beſpake:
" Now, by my life, this was a mery lay,
Worthie of Colin ſelfe that did it make.
But read now eke, of friendſhip I thee pray,
What dittie did that other ſhepheard ſing?
For I do covet moſt the ſame to heare,
As men uſe moſt to covet forreine thing."
  " That ſhall I eke (quoth he) to you declare.
His ſong was all a lamentable lay
Of great unkindneſſe, and of uſage hard,
Of Cynthia, the Ladie of the Sea,
Which from her preſence faultleſſe him debard.
And ever and anon, with ſingulfs rife,
He cryed out, to make his underſong,
'Ah! my loves queene, and goddeſſe of my life,
Who ſhall me pittie, when thou doeſt me wrong?'"
  Then gan a gentle bonylaſſe to ſpeake,
That Marin hight: " Right well he ſure did plaine,
That could great Cynthiaes ſore diſpleaſure breake,
And move to take him to her grace againe.
But tell on further, Colin, as befell
Twixt him and thee, that thee did hence diſſuade."
  " When thus our pipes we both had wearied well,
(Quoth he) and each an end of ſinging made,
He gan to caſt great lyking to my lore,
And great diſlyking to my luckleſſe lot,
That baniſht had my ſelfe, like wight forlore,
Into that waſte, where I was quite forgot:
The which to leave thenceforth he counſeld mee,
Unmeet for man, in whom was ought regardfull,
And wend with him, his Cynthia to ſee;
Whoſe grace was great, and bounty moſt rewardfull.

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Beſides her peerleſſe ſkill in making well,[m]
And all the ornaments of wondrous wit,
Such as all womankynd did far excell;
Such as the world admyr'd, and praiſed it.
So, what with hope of good and hate of ill,
He me perſwaded forth with him to fare.
Nought tooke I with me, but mine oaten quill:
Small needments elſe need ſhepheard to prepare.
So to the ſea we came; the ſea? that is
A world of waters heaped up on hie,
Rolling like mountaines in wide wilderneſſe,
Horrible, hideous, roaring with hoarſe crie."
"And is the ſea (quoth Coridon) ſo fearfull?"
"Fearful much more (quoth he) then hart can fear:
Thouſand wyld beaſts with deep mouthes gaping direfull
Therin ſtil wait poore paſſengers to teare.
Who life doth loath, and longs death to behold,
Before he die alreadie dead with feare,
And yet would live with heart halfe ſtonie cold,
Let him to ſea, and he ſhall ſee it there.

[m] *her peerleſſe ſkill in making well.*] In *poetical* compoſition. See the note on the "Shep. Cal." June, ver. 82 [vol. i. p. 75]. Puttenham highly commends, as "paſſing ſweete and harmonicall," a Ditty by her Majeſty, which is reprinted in Ellis's "Specimens of the Early Engliſh Poets." And, in Percy's "Reliques of Ancient Engliſh Poetry," [vol. ii. p. 132, edit. 1765,] her verſes, written with charcoal on a ſhutter while ſhe was priſoner at Woodſtock, are reprinted from a corrected copy of them as preſerved by Hentzner. Todd. Puttenham, ſpeaking generally of Queen Elizabeth's "ſkill in making well," ſays:—"But laſt in recitall and firſt in degree is the Queene our ſoveraigne Lady, whoſe learned, delicate, noble Muſe eaſily ſurmounteth all the reſt that have written before her time or ſince, for ſenſe, ſweetneſſe and ſubtillitie, be it in Ode, Elegie, Epigram, or any other kinde of poeme heroick or lyricke, wherein it ſhall pleaſe her Majeſtie to employ her penne, even by as much oddes as her owne excellent eſtate and degree exceedeth all the reſt of her moſt humble vaſſalls." P. 51, edit. 1589. Todd omits to notice the Queen's verſes, which Percy tells us were compoſed about 1569, and are, perhaps, the beſt ſpecimen of her "ſkill." He inſerts them in vol. ii. p. 202, edit. 1765. They are quoted from Puttenham, whoſe applauſe is equally courtierlike and extravagant. C.

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And yet as ghaſtly dreadfull as it ſeemes,
Bold men, preſuming life for gaine to ſell,
Dare tempt that gulf, and in thoſe wandring ſtremes
Seek waies unknowne, waies leading down to hell:
For, as we ſtood there waiting on the ſtrond,
Behold! an huge great veſſell to us came,
Dauncing upon the waters back to lond,
As if it ſcornd the daunger of the ſame;
Yet was it but a wooden frame and fraile,
Glewed togither with ſome ſubtile matter:
Yet had it armes and wings, and head and taile,
And life to move it ſelfe upon the water.
Strange thing! how bold and ſwift the monſter was,
That neither car'd for wynd, nor haile, nor raine,
Nor ſwelling waves, but thorough them did paſſe
So proudly that ſhe made them roare againe.
The ſame aboord us gently did receave,
And without harme us farre away did beare,
So farre that land, our mother, us did leave,
And nought but ſea and heaven to us appeare.[n]
Then hartleſſe quite, and full of inward feare,
That ſhepheard I beſought to me to tell,
Under what ſkie, or in what world we were,
In which I ſaw no living people dwell?
Who, me recomforting all that he might,
Told me that that ſame was the Regiment
Of a great ſhepheardeſſe that Cynthia hight,
His liege, his Ladie, and his lifes Regent.
" If then (quoth I) a ſhepheardeſſe ſhe bee,

[n] *And nought but ſea and heaven to us appeare.*] Virgil, Æn. iii. 192.

" Poſtquam altum tenuere rates, nec jam amplius ullæ
" Apparent terræ, cælum undique, et undique pontus."

Jortin. Spenſer muſt have ſeen theſe things before, on his way to Ireland, where he was found by the Shepherd of the Sea, Sir Walter Raleigh, and induced to return with him to England. C.

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Where be the flockes and heards which ſhe doth keep?
And where may I the hills and paſtures ſee,
On which ſhe uſeth for to feed her ſheepe?"
"Theſe be the hills, (quoth he) the ſurges hie,
On which faire Cynthia her heards doth feed:
Her heards be thouſand fiſhes with their frie,
Which in the boſome of the billowes breed.
Of them the ſhepheard which hath charge in chief,
Is Triton, blowing loud his wreathed horne;
At ſound whereof, they all for their relief
Went too and fro at evening and at morne.
And Proteus eke with him does drive his heard
Of ſtinking Seales and Porcpiſces together,
With hoary head and deawy dropping beard,
Compelling them which way he liſt, and whether.
And I, among the reſt, of many leaſt,
Have in the Ocean charge to me aſſignd;
Where I will live or die at her beheaſt,
And ſerve and honour her with faithfull mind.
Beſides an hundred Nymphs all heavenly borne,
And of immortall race, doo ſtill attend
To waſh faire Cynthiaes ſheep when they be ſhorne,
And fold them up when they have made an end.
Thoſe be the ſhepheards which my Cynthia ſerve
At ſea, beſide a thouſand moe at land;
For land and ſea my Cynthia doth deſerve
To have in her commandement at hand."
Thereat I wondred much, till, wondring more
And more, at length we land far off deſcryde;
Which ſight much gladed me, for much afore
I feard, leaſt land we never ſhould have eyde:
Thereto our ſhip her courſe directly bent,
As if the way ſhe perfectly had knowne.
We Lunday paſſe; by that ſame name is ment
An Iſland, which the firſt to weſt was ſhowne.

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From thence another world of land we kend,
Floting amid the ſea in jeopardie,
And round about with mightie white rocks hemd,
Againſt the ſeas encroching crueltie.
Thoſe ſame, the ſhepheard told me, were the fields
In which dame Cynthia her landheards fed;
Faire goodly fields, than which Armulla yields
None fairer, nor more fruitfull to be red.
The firſt to which we nigh approched was
An high headland thruſt far into the ſea,
Like to an horne,[o] whereof the name it has,
Yet ſeemed to be a goodly pleaſant lea:
There did a loftie mount at firſt us greet,
Which did a ſtately heape of ſtones upreare,
That ſeemd amid the ſurges for to fleet,
Much greater then that frame which us did beare:
There did our ſhip her fruitfull wombe unlade,
And put us all aſhore on Cynthias land."

"What land is that thou meanſt, (then Cuddy ſayd)
And is there other then whereon we ſtand?"

"Ah! Cuddy, (then quoth Colin) thous a fon,[p]
That haſt not ſeene leaſt part of natures worke:
Much more there is unkend then thou doeſt kon,
And much more that does from mens knowledge lurke;
For that ſame land much larger is then this,
And other men and beaſts and birds doth feed.
There fruitfull corne, faire trees, freſh herbage is,

---

[o] *Like to an horne*, &c.] Cornwall. See Carew's "Survey of Cornwall," 1602. p. 1. "Some draw the name *Cornwall* from *Corineus*, couſin to Brute, &c. Some, &c. from CORNU *Galliæ*, a horne or corner of Fraunce, whereagainſt nature hath placed it; and ſome, from CORNU *Walliæ*, which (in my conieƈture) carrieth greateſt likelyhood of truth." See alſo Drayton's "Polyolbion," S. i. TODD. It is Selden, in his "Notes," who enters into the queſtion of the origin of the name of Cornwall: "If you believe the tale of Corin and Gogmagog," &c. C.

[p] *thous a fon.*] A *fool*, as in "Shep. Cal." for Febr. vol. i. p. 24. C.

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And all things elſe that living creatures need:
Beſides, moſt goodly rivers there appeare,
No whit inferiour to thy Fanchins praiſe,[q]
Or unto Allo, or to Mulla cleare:
Nought haſt thou, fooliſh boy, ſeene in thy daies."
"But if that land be there (quoth he) as here,
And is theyr heaven likewiſe there all one?
And if like heaven, be heavenly graces there,
Like as in this ſame world where we do wone?"
"Both heaven and heavenly graces do much more
(Quoth he) abound in that ſame land then this;
For there all happie peace and plenteous ſtore
Conſpire in one to make contented bliſſe:
No wayling there nor wretchedneſſe is heard,
No bloodie iſſues, nor no leproſies,
No grieſly famine, nor no raging ſweard,
No nightly bodrags,[r] nor no hue and cries.
The ſhepheards there abroad may ſafely lie,
On hills and downes, withouten dread or daunger:
No ravenous wolves the good mans hope deſtroy,
Nor outlawes fell affray the foreſt raunger.
There learned arts do floriſh in great honor,
And Poets wits are had in peerleſſe price:
Religion hath lay powre to reſt upon her,
Advancing vertue and ſuppreſſing vice.
For end, all good, all grace there freely growes,
Had people grace it gratefully to uſe;
For God his gifts there plenteouſly beſtowes,
But graceleſſe men them greatly do abuſe."
"But ſay on further, (then ſaid Corylas)

[q] *to thy Fanchins praiſe.*] It is miſprinted Funchins in all the old copies, but Spenſer has already called it "Fanchin" in the F. Q. C.

[r] *No nightly bodrags.*] Rather *bordrags*, i. e. *bordragings*, as in the F. Q. ii. x. 63. Where ſee the note on the word. Todd. Poſſibly "bordraging," the word in the F. Q. is to be taken as a colloquial abbreviation of *border-ravaging:* ſee vol. ii. p. 282. C.

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The reſt of thine adventures that betyded."
" Foorth on our voyage we by land did paſſe,
(Quoth he) as that ſame ſhepheard ſtill us guyded,
Untill that we to Cynthiaes preſence came:
Whoſe glorie, greater then my ſimple thought,
I found much greater then the former fame:
Such greatnes I cannot compare to ought;
But if I her like ought on earth might read,
I would her lyken to a crowne of lillies,
Upon a virgin brydes adorned head,
With Roſes dight and Goolds and Daffadillies;
Or like the circlet of a Turtle true,*
In which all colours of the rainbow bee;
Or like faire Phebes garlond ſhining new,
In which all pure perfection one may ſee.
But vaine it is to thinke, by paragone
Of earthly things, to judge of things divine:
Her power, her mercy, and her wiſedome, none
Can deeme, but who the Godhead can define.
Why then do I, baſe ſhepheard, bold and blind,
Preſume the things ſo ſacred to prophane?
More fit it is t'adore, with humble mind,
The image of the heavens in ſhape humane."
With that Alexis broke his tale aſunder,
Saying; " By wondring at thy Cynthiaes praiſe,
Colin, thy ſelfe thou mak'ſt us more to wonder,
And her upraiſing doeſt thy ſelfe upraiſe.
But let us heare what grace ſhe ſhewed thee,
And how that ſhepheard ſtrange thy cauſe advanced."
" The ſhepheard of the Ocean (quoth he)
Unto that Goddeſſe grace me firſt enhanced,

* *Or like the circlet of a Turtle true.*] The emperor Nero ſaid of the dove,

" Colla Cytheriacæ ſplendent agitata columbæ."

Which verſe his tutor Seneca commends greatly, Nat. Quæſt. I. 5. And indeed it is not a bad one. JORTIN.

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And to mine oaten pipe enclin'd her eare,
That ſhe thenceforth therein gan take delight,
And it deſir'd at timely houres to heare,
All were my notes but rude and roughly dight:
For not by meaſure of her owne great mynd,
And wondrous worth, ſhe mott my ſimple ſong,[t]
But joyd that country ſhepheard ought could fynd
Worth harkening to emongſt the learned throng."
" Why, (ſaid Alexis then) what needeth ſhee
That is ſo great a ſhepheardeſſe her ſelfe,[u]
And hath ſo many ſhepheards in her fee,
To heare thee ſing, a ſimple ſilly elfe?
Or be the ſhepheards which do ſerve her laeſie,
That they liſt not their mery pipes applie?
Or be their pipes untunable and craeſie,
That they cannot her honour worthylie?"
" Ah! nay (ſaid Colin) neither ſo, nor ſo;
For better ſhepheards be not under ſkie,
Nor better hable, when they liſt to blow
Their pipes aloud, her name to glorifie.
There is good Harpalus,[x] now woxen aged
In faithful ſervice of faire Cynthia:
And there is Corydon,[y] though meanly waged,

[t] *ſhe mott my ſimple ſong.*] Perhaps *mott* is the preterperfect of *mete*, i. e. *meaſure*. T. WARTON. Warton is probably right, but we know of no other inſtance where "mott" means *meaſured*. C.

[u] *That is ſo great a ſhepheardeſſe her ſelfe.*] Not only in the time of Spenſer was the word "Shepherd" uſed as ſynonymous with *poet*, but here we ſee that "Shepherdeſs" was equivalent to *poeteſs*. Elizabeth's "ſkill in making" has been already enforced, p. 38. C.

[x] *There is good Harpalus.*] By Harpalus, Malone (Shakeſp. by Boſwell, ii. 235) underſtands Churchyard, but we ſhall ſee preſently that that old poet is alluded to under a different name. We apprehend that Harpalus is Lord Buckhurſt, afterwards Earl of Dorſet, "now woxen aged," and the author of the Induction to "The Mirror for Magiſtrates," and part author, with Thomas Norton, of the tragedy of "Gorboduc," acted in 1561, and printed in 1565. The Shakeſpeare Society reprinted it in 1847 from the earlieſt impreſſion: it was edited, together with "Ralph Roiſter Doiſter," by Mr. W. D. Cooper. C.

[y] *And there is Corydon.*] Perhaps Abraham Fraunce, the author of

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Yet hableſt wit of moſt I know this day.
And there is ſad Alcyon[a] bent to mourne,
Though fit to frame an everlaſting dittie,
Whoſe gentle ſpright for Daphnes death doth tourn
Sweet layes of love to endleſſe plaints of pittie.
Ah! penſive boy, purſue that brave conceipt,
In thy ſweet Eglantine of Meriflure;
Lift up thy notes unto their wonted height,
That may thy Muſe and mates to mirth allure.
There eke is Palin[a] worthie of great praiſe,
Albe he envie at my ruſtick quill:
And there is pleaſing Alcon,[b] could he raiſe
His tunes from laies to matter of more ſkill.
And there is old Palemon[c] free from ſpight,

various works in Engliſh hexameters, one of which, publiſhed in 1588, was called, "The Lamentation of *Corydon* for the Love of Alexis." C.

[a] *And there is ſad Alcyon.*] We ſhall ſee, in Spenſer's "Daphnaida," that Arthur Gorges has aſſigned to him the poetical and paſtoral name of Alcyon. His "brave conceipt," as Spenſer terms it, under the title of "Eglantine of Meriflure," was clearly unfiniſhed, and our Poet exhorts him to complete it. Complete or incomplete, it has not ſurvived either in print or in manuſcript. C.

[a] *There eke is Palin.*] Malone was probably right in thinking that by Palin our poet intended George Peele, who very likely "envied at" Spenſer's "ruſtick quill." Peele was himſelf an imitator of Spenſer, as may be ſeen by the paſtoral he publiſhed on the return of the Earl of Eſſex to England from Portugal, in 1589, under the title of "An Eglogue Gratulatorie." Dyce's "Peele," vol. iii. p. 147. C.

[b] *And there is pleaſing Alcon.*] We cannot think, with Malone, that Alcon was intended for Thomas Lodge, a poet and proſe writer of great note and popularity, the author, among other things, of the novel on which Shakeſpeare founded "As you like it." The latter part of Spenſer's character is altogether below the merits of Lodge, and it is much more probable that Nicholas Breton, or ſome even inferior verſifier, was intended. Lodge's own paſtoral name was Golde. C.

[c] *And there is old Palemon.*] This reference was certainly to Thomas Churchyard, who takes it to himſelf in his "Pleaſant Diſcourſe of Court and Wars," printed in 1596; ſo that Malone was wide of the mark when he gave the character and the peculiarity of hoarſeneſs to Arthur Golding. Churchyard tells us that the Court is the place where all poets thrive but himſelf,—

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Whoſe carefull pipe may make the hearer rew;
Yet he himſelfe may rewed be more right,
That ſung ſo long untill quite hoarſe he grew.
And there is Alabaſter, throughly taught
In all this ſkill, though knowen yet to few;
Yet, were he knowne to Cynthia as he ought,
His Eliſëis[d] would be redde anew.
Who lives that can match that heroick ſong,
Which he hath of that mightie Princeſſe made?
O dreaded Dread! do not thy ſelfe that wrong,
To let thy fame lie ſo in hidden ſhade;
But call it forth, O! call him forth to thee,
To end thy glorie which he hath begun:
That, when he finiſht hath as it ſhould be,
No braver Poeme can be under ſun.
Nor Po nor Tyburs ſwans ſo much renowned,
Nor all the brood of Greece ſo highly praiſed,

"Save one whoſe voice is hoarſe they ſay."
This acknowledgment puts it beyond a doubt; and it came from one who began writing in the reign of Edward VI. and did not ceaſe until after James I. had aſcended the throne: he might well, therefore, be both "old" and "hoarſe." C.

[d] *His Eliſëis.*] This is preſerved among the Manuſcripts in Emmanuel College, Cambridge; and is numbered 1. 4. 16. I have been favoured by the Maſter of that Society with the peruſal of it. It is entitled, "Eliſæis, Apotheoſis poetica, ſive, De florentiſſimo imperio et rebus geſtis auguſtiſſimæ et invictiſſimæ principis Elizabethæ D. G. Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ, Reginæ. Poematis in duodecem libros tribuendi liber primus. Authore Gulielmo Alabastro, Cantabrigienſi Colleg. Trin." It is dedicated to Queen Eliſabeth. The poem opens thus:—

"Virgineum mundi decus, auguſtamque Britannæ
"Regnatricem aulæ, et lætis digeſta tot annos
"Imperiis, paciſque artes, bellique triumphos,
"Ordior æternæ rerum tranſcribere famæ.
"Argumentum ingens," &c.

This manuſcript, according to Antony Wood, had been formerly in the poſſeſſion of Theod. Hake. Alabaſter never finiſhed the poem. Todd. Alabaſter is almoſt the only poet upon whom the commentators of Spenſer have furniſhed a note. He went over to the Romiſh Church, but later in life returned to the Proteſtant religion. In Engliſh he was the author of a number of ſpiritual ſonnets, only exiſting in manuſcript. C.

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Can match that Muſe when it with bayes is crowned,
And to the pitch of her perfection raiſed.
And there is a new ſhepheard late up ſprong,
The which doth all afore him far ſurpaſſe;
Appearing well in that well tuned ſong,
Which late he ſung unto a ſcornfull laſſe:
Yet doth his trembling Muſe but lowly flie,
As daring not too raſhly mount on hight,
And doth her tender plumes as yet but trie
In loves ſoft laies and looſer thoughts delight.
Then rouze thy feathers quickly, Daniell,[e]
And to what courſe thou pleaſe thy ſelfe advance:
But moſt, me ſeemes, thy accent will excell
In tragick plaints and paſſionate miſchance.
And there that ſhepheard of the Ocean is,[f]
That ſpends his wit in loves conſuming ſmart:[g]
Full ſweetly tempred is that Muſe of his,
That can empierce a Princes mightie hart.
There alſo is (ah no! he is not now)
But ſince I ſaid he is, he quite is gone,
Amyntas quite is gone[h] and lies full low,

---

[e] *Then rouze thy feathers quickly, Daniell.*] Here again Spenſer introduces a real name: Daniel could hardly in 1595 be truly called "a new ſhepherd," ſeeing that his "Delia," a collection of ſonnets, had been twice printed in 1592, and that he had begun authorſhip, with a tranſlation, five years earlier. Four books of his "Civil Wars" were publiſhed in 1595, and in the ſame year, if not ſooner, his tragedy of "Cleopatra" came out. His popularity was afterwards very great. C.

[f] *And there that ſhepheard of the Oceanis.*] Sir Walter Raleigh, who, we may infer from what is here ſaid, and from what, indeed, is known, "ſpent his wits" in amatory poems addreſſed to Elizabeth: Spenſer bears witneſs that they had "empierced a Prince's mightie hart." The Queen's vanity had the moſt prodigious ſwallow, and there was no flattery, however groſs, (as Spenſer well knew) that would not be inſtantly and greedily devoured. Hence the numerous and extravagant laudations of her that have come down to our day. C.

[g] *That ſpends his wit in loves conſuming ſmart.*] Moſt [many] of Sir W. Raleigh's verſes appear to have been of the amatory kind. Todd.

[h] *Amyntas quite is gone.*] Amyntas is Ferdinando, Earl of Derby;

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Having his Amaryllis left to mone.
Helpe, O ye ſhepheards! helpe ye all in this,
Helpe Amaryllis this her loſſe to mourne:
Her loſſe is yours, your loſſe Amyntas is,
Amyntas, floure of ſhepheards pride forlorne.
He whileſt he lived was the nobleſt ſwaine,
That ever piped in an oaten quill:
Both did he other which could pipe maintaine,
And eke could pipe himſelfe with paſſing ſkill.
And there, though laſt not leaſt, is Aetion;
A gentler ſhepheard may no where be found:
Whoſe Muſe, full of high thoughts invention,
Doth like himſelfe heroically ſound.[1]
All theſe, and many others mo remaine,
Now, after Aſtrofell is dead and gone;
But, while as Aſtrofell did live and raine,
Amongſt all theſe was none his Paragone.
All theſe do floriſh in their ſundry kynd,
And do their Cynthia immortall make;
Yet found I lyking in her royall mynd,
Not for my ſkill, but for that ſhepheards ſake."
Then ſpake a lovely laſſe, hight Lucida:
" Shepheard, enough of ſhepheards thou haſt told,
Which favour thee, and honour Cynthia:
But of ſo many Nymphs, which ſhe doth hold

which poetical name he received alſo from Naſh. Todd. In " Pierce Penileſſe his Supplication to the Devill," 4to. 1592, reprinted by the Shakeſpeare Society in 1842: it will be found near the bottom of page 90:—" But from generall fame, let me digres to my private experience," &c. See alſo the " Life of Spenſer." C.

[1] *Doth like himſelfe Heroically ſound.*] Todd has not aſſigned the name of Aetion to any poet of the time; but the terms of this laſt line have led many to ſuppoſe that Shakeſpeare was intended, both ſyllables of whoſe name have a martial and heroical ſound: the words " A *gentler* ſhepheard may no where be found," alſo ſeem to point at the character of our great dramatiſt, the *gentleneſs* of whoſe nature is alluded to by many of his contemporaries. See " Collier's Shakeſpeare," edit. 1858, p. 105. Malone argued that Shakeſpeare muſt be intended. C.

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In her retinew, thou haſt nothing ſayd;
That ſeems, with none of them thou favor foundeſt,
Or art ingratefull to each gentle mayd,
That none of all their due deſerts reſoundeſt."
" Ah! far be it (quoth Colin Clout) fro me,
That I of gentle Mayds ſhould ill deſerve,
For that my ſelfe I do profeſſe to be
Vaſſall to one, whom all my dayes I ſerve;
The beame of beautie ſparkled from above,
The floure of vertue and pure chaſtitie,
The bloſſome of ſweet joy and perfect love,
The pearle of peerleſſe grace and modeſtie!
To her my thoughts I daily dedicate,
To her my heart I nightly martyrize;
To her my love I lowly do proſtrate,
To her my life I wholly ſacrifice:
My thought, my heart, my love, my life is ſhee,
And I hers ever onely, ever one;
One ever I all vowed hers to bee,
One ever I, and others never none."
Then thus Meliſſa ſaid: " Thriſe happie Mayd,
Whom thou doeſt ſo enforce to deifie,
That woods, and hills, and valleyes thou haſt made
Her name to eccho unto heaven hie!
But ſay, who elſe vouchſafed thee of grace?"
" They all (quoth he) me graced goodly well,
That all I praiſe; but, in the higheſt place,
Urania, ſiſter unto Aſtrofell,[k]
In whoſe brave mynd, as in a golden cofer,
All heavenly gifts and riches locked are;
More rich then pearles of Ynde, or gold of Opher,
And in her ſex more wonderfull and rare.

[k] *Urania, ſiſter unto Aſtrofell.*] Another name for the Counteſs of Pembroke: it is miſ-ſpelt *Uriana* in the firſt edition. C.

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Ne leſſe praiſe-worthie I Theana read,
Whoſe goodly beames, though they be over dight·
With mourning ſtole of carefull wydowhead,
Yet through that darkſome vale do gliſter bright:
She is the well of bountie and brave mynd,
Excelling moſt in glorie and great light;
She is the ornament of womankind,
And Courts chief garlond with all vertues dight.
Therefore great Cynthia her in chiefeſt grace
Doth hold, and next unto her ſelfe advance,
Well worthie of ſo honourable place,
For her great worth and noble governance.
Ne leſſe praiſe worthie is her ſiſter deare,
Faire Marian, the Muſes onely darling;[1]
Whoſe beautie ſhyneth as the morning cleare,
With ſilver deaw upon the roſes pearling.
Ne leſſe praiſe worthie is Manſilia,
Beſt knowne by bearing up great Cynthiaes traine:
That ſame is ſhe to whom Daphnaida[m]
Upon her neeces death I did complaine.
She is the paterne of true womanhead,
And onely mirrhor of feminitie;
Worthie next after Cynthia to tread,
As ſhe is next her in nobilitie.
Ne leſſe praiſe worthie Galathea ſeemes,
Then beſt of all that honourable crew,
Faire Galathea with bright ſhining beames,

---

[1] *the Muſes onely darling.*] Here the word is "darling," and not *dearling*, which Spenſer has before uſed, and which would better ſuit the rhyme: perhaps his reaſon for ſpelling it "darling," was that the preceding line ends with "deare." The real names of theſe court-ladies it is not eaſy to recover, and nobody ſeems to have tried the experiment. C.

[m] *to whom Daphnaida.*] This piece was not printed until a year after the preſent, viz. in 1596; but Spenſer's dedication of it is dated 1 Jan. 1591-2; it was an Elegy, as will be ſeen hereafter, on the death of Douglas Howard, wife to Arthur Gorges, Eſq. C.

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Inflaming feeble eyes that her do view.
She there then waited upon Cynthia;
Yet there is not her won, but here with us
About the borders of our rich Coſhma,
Now made of Maa, the Nymph delitious.
Ne leſſe praiſworthie faire Neæra is,
Neæra ours, not theirs, though there ſhe be;
For of the famous Shure the Nymph ſhe is,
For high deſert advaunſt to that degree.
She is the bloſome of grace and curteſie,
Adorned with all honourable parts:
She is the braunch of true nobilitie,
Belov'd of high and low with faithfull harts.
Ne leſſe praiſworthie Stella do I read,
Though nought my praiſes of her needed arre,
Whom verſe of nobleſt ſhepheard, lately dead,[n]
Hath prais'd and rais'd above each other ſtarre.
Ne leſſe praiſworthie are the ſiſters three,
The honor of the noble familie,
Of which I meaneſt boaſt my ſelfe to be,
And moſt that unto them I am ſo nie;
Phyllis, Charillis, and ſweet Amaryllis.
Phyllis the faire is eldeſt of the three:
The next to her is bountifull Charillis;
But th' youngeſt is the higheſt in degree.
Phyllis, the floure of rare perfection,
Faire ſpreading forth her leaves with freſh delight,
That, with their beauties amorous reflexion,
Bereave of ſence each raſh beholders ſight.
But ſweet Charillis is the paragone
Of peerleſſe price, and ornament of praiſe,
Admyr'd of all, yet envied of none,

[n] *nobleſt ſhepheard, lately dead.*] Of courſe, Sir P. Sidney; and an alluſion to his "Aſtrophel and Stella," firſt printed in 1591. C.

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Through the myld temperance of her goodly raies.
Thriſe happie do I hold thee, noble ſwaine,
The which art of ſo rich a ſpoile poſſeſt,
And it embracing deare without diſdaine,
Haſt ſole poſſeſſion in ſo chaſte a breſt:
Of all the ſhepheards daughters which there bee,
And yet there be the faireſt under ſkie,
Or that elſewhere I ever yet did ſee,
A fairer Nymph yet never ſaw mine eie.
She is the pride and primroſe of the reſt,°
Made by the Maker ſelfe to be admired;
And like a goodly beacon high addreſt,
That is with ſparks of heavenlie beautie fired.
But Amaryllis, whether fortunate,
Or elſe unfortunate may I aread,
That freed is from Cupids yoke by fate,
Since which ſhe doth new bands adventure dread.
Shepheard, what ever thou haſt heard to be
In this or that prayſd diverſly apart,
In her thou maiſt them all aſſembled ſee,
And ſeald up in the threaſure of her hart.
Ne thee leſſe worthie, gentle Flavia,
For thy chaſte life and vertue I eſteeme:
Ne thee leſſe worthie, curteous Candida,
For thy true love and loyaltie I deeme;
Beſides yet many mo that Cynthia ſerve,
Right noble Nymphs, and high to be commended.

° *primroſe of the reſt.*] So, in the "Shep. Cal." Feb. ver. 166.

"To be the *primroſe* of all thy land."

The ſame expreſſion, to denote excellence, occurs in "Daphnaida," ver. 233.

"And mine the *primroſe* of the lowly ſhade."

Todd. In the firſt inſtance quoted by Todd, vol. i. p. 28, Spenſer calls the *briar* "the primroſe," meaning, etymologically, that it is the *prime*, or firſt *roſe* of the year: in the ſecond inſtance, *primroſe* is to be taken as we now underſtand it, as a flower growing uſually in "the lowly ſhade." C.

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But, if I all ſhould praiſe as they deſerve,
This ſun would faile me ere I halfe had ended:
Therefore, in cloſure of a thankfull mynd,
I deeme it beſt to hold eternally
Their bounteous deeds and noble favours ſhrynd,
Then by diſcourſe them to indignifie."
So having ſaid, Aglaura him beſpake:
" Colin, well worthie were thoſe goodly favours
Beſtowd on thee, that ſo of them doeſt make,
And them requiteſt with thy thankfull labours.
But of great Cynthiaes goodneſſe, and high grace,
Finiſh the ſtorie which thou haſt begunne."
" More eath (quoth he) it is in ſuch a caſe
How to begin, then know how to have donne;
For everie gift, and everie goodly meed,
Which ſhe on me beſtowd, demaunds a day;
And everie day, in which ſhe did a deed,
Demaunds a yeare it duly to diſplay.
Her words were like a ſtreame of honny fleeting,
The which doth ſoftly trickle from the hive,
Hable to melt the hearers heart unweeting,
And eke to make the dead againe alive.
Her deeds were like great gluſters of ripe grapes,
Which load the bunches[p] of the fruitfull vine;
Offring to fall into each mouth that gapes,

---

[p] *Which load the bunches.*] The " great gluſters," or cluſters, were " the bunches," ſo that here Spenſer is made to ſpeak of the " cluſters" that load the " cluſters." We are perſuaded that he wrote,

" like great cluſters of ripe grapes,
" Which load the *branches* of the fruitfull vine;"

and that the compoſitor miſprinted the word *branches*, and made it " bunches." All old editions read, uniformly, " bunches," and no modern commentator has ſuggeſted a doubt as to the fitneſs of it. Drayton too (who, however, made no emendation in the whole poem of " Colin Clouts come Home again,") allowed " bunches" to remain in his folio of 1611; and, with this weight of authority againſt our propoſed change, we repeat the text preciſely as we find it. C.

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And fill the ſame with ſtore of timely wine.
Her lookes were like beames of the morning Sun,
Forth looking through the windowes of the Eaſt,
When firſt the fleecie cattell have begun
Upon the perled graſſe to make their feaſt.
Her thoughts are like the fume of Franckincence,
Which from a golden Cenſer forth doth riſe,
And throwing forth ſweet odours mounts fro thence
In rolling globes up to the vauted ſkies.
There ſhe beholds, with high aſpiring thought,
The cradle of her owne creation,
Emongſt the ſeats of Angels heavenly wrought,
Much like an Angell in all forme and faſhion."
"Colin, (ſaid Cuddy then) thou haſt forgot
Thy ſelfe, me ſeemes, too much, to mount ſo hie:
Such loftie flight baſe ſhepheard ſeemeth not,
From flocks and fields, to Angels and to ſkie."
"True, (anſwered he) but her great excellence,
Lifts me above the meaſure of my might;
That, being fild with furious inſolence,[q]
I feele my ſelfe like one yrapt in ſpright:
For when I thinke of her, as oft I ought,
Then want I words to ſpeake it fitly forth;
And when I ſpeake of her what I have thought,
I cannot thinke according to her worth.
Yet will I thinke of her, yet will I ſpeake,
So long as life my limbs doth hold together;
And when as death theſe vitall bands ſhall breake,
Her name recorded I will leave for ever.
Her name in every tree I will endoſſe,[r]

[q] *with furious inſolence.*] That is, with UNUSUAL *fury*; INSOLENCE being here uſed as the Latin *inſolentia* ſometimes is. See Erneſti Index Lat. in Opp. Cicer. in V. "Inſolentia." TODD. The uſe of "inſolent" as *unwonted* is not uncommon; but we do not recollect any other author who employs "inſolence" for *unwontedneſs*. C.

[r] *in every tree I will endoſſe.*] *Carve* or *engrave*. See the note

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That as the trees do grow her name may grow;
And in the ground each where will it engroſſe,
And fill with ſtones, that all men may it know.
The ſpeaking woods, and murmuring waters fall,
Her name Ile teach in knowen termes to frame;
And eke my lambs, when for their dams they call,
Ile teach to call for Cynthia by name.
And long while after I am dead and rotten,
Amongſt the ſhepheards daughters dancing rownd,
My layes made of her ſhall not be forgotten,
But ſung by them with flowry gyrlonds crownd.
And ye, who ſo ye be, that ſhall ſurvive,
When as ye heare her memory renewed,
Be witneſſe of her bountie here alive,
Which ſhe to Colin, her poore ſhepheard, ſhewed."
  Much was the whole aſſembly of thoſe heards
Moov'd at his ſpeech, ſo feelingly he ſpake;
And ſtood awhile aſtoniſht at his words,
Till Theſtylis at laſt their ſilence brake,
Saying; "Why Colin, ſince thou foundſt ſuch grace
With Cynthia and all her noble crew,
Why didſt thou ever leave that happie place,
In which ſuch wealth might unto thee accrew;
And back returnedſt to this barrein ſoyle,
Where cold and care and penury do dwell,
Here to keep ſheepe with hunger and with toyle?
Moſt wretched he, that is and cannot tell."
  "Happie indeed (ſaid Colin) I him hold,
That may that bleſſed preſence ſtill enjoy,
Of fortune and of envy uncomptrold,
Which ſtill are wont moſt happie ſtates t' annoy:
But I, by that which little while I prooved,
Some part of thoſe enormities did ſee,

on F. Q. v. xi. 53 [vol. iv. p. 19]. Todd. Spenſer adopted the Fr. rather than the Lat. etymology, as it beſt ſuited his rhyme. C.

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The which in Court continually hooved,[a]
And followd thoſe which happie ſeemd to bee.
Therefore I, ſilly man, whoſe former dayes
Had in rude fields bene altogether ſpent,
Dareſt not adventure ſuch unknowen wayes,
Nor truſt the guile of fortunes blandiſhment;
But rather choſe back to my ſheep to tourne,
Whoſe utmoſt hardneſſe I before had tryde,
Then, having learnd repentance late, to mourne
Emongſt thoſe wretches which I there deſcryde."
" Shepheard, (ſaid Theſtylis) it ſeemes of ſpight
Thou ſpeakeſt thus gainſt their felicitie,
Which thou envieſt, rather then of right
That ought in them blameworthie thou doeſt ſpie."
" Cauſe have I none (quoth he) of cancred will
To quite them ill, that me demeand ſo well;
But ſelfe-regard of private good or ill
Moves me of each, ſo as I found, to tell
And eke to warne yong ſhepheards wandring wit,
Which through report of that lives painted bliſſe
Abandon quiet home, to ſeeke for it,
And leave their lambes to loſſe, miſled amiſſe:
For, ſooth to ſay, it is no ſort of life,
For ſhepheard fit to lead in that ſame place,
Where each one ſeeks with malice, and with ſtrife,
To thruſt downe other into foule diſgrace,
Himſelfe to raiſe: and he doth ſooneſt riſe
That beſt can handle his deceitfull wit
In ſubtil ſhifts, and fineſt ſleights deviſe,
Either by ſlaundring his well deemed name

[a] *continually hooved.*] *Hovered.* So, in his 89th "Sonnet." "Ne joy of ought that under heaven doth *hove.*" Chaucer uſes *hove* in the ſame ſenſe, "Tr. and Cr." L. iii. 1433. Todd. Todd ſeems to have forgotten Spenſer's own authority in his earlier work. See the words "hove" and *hoverd* in F. Q. b. iii. c. x. ſt. 20 and 23, and the note upon them, vol. iii. pp. 27, 28. C.

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Through leaſings lewd, and fained forgerie;
Or elſe by breeding him ſome blot of blame,
By creeping cloſe into his ſecrecie:
To which him needs a guilefull hollow hart,
Maſked with faire diſſembling curteſie,
A filed toung,[t] furniſht with tearmes of art,
No art of ſchoole, but Courtiers ſchoolery:
For arts of ſchoole have there ſmall countenance,
Counted but toyes to buſie ydle braines;
And there profeſſours find ſmall maintenance,
But to be inſtruments of others gaines.
Ne is there place for any gentle wit,
Unleſſe to pleaſe it ſelfe it can applie,
But ſhouldred is, or out of doore quite ſhit,
As baſe, or blunt,[u] unmeet for melodie.
For each mans worth is meaſured by his weed,
As harts by hornes, or aſſes by their eares:
Yet aſſes been not all whoſe eares exceed,
Nor yet all harts that hornes the higheſt beares;
For higheſt lookes have not the higheſt mynd,
Nor haughtie words moſt full of higheſt thoughts,
But are like bladders blowen up with wynd,
That being prickt do vaniſh into noughts.

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[t] *A filed toung*, &c.] So, in F. Q. i. i. 35 [vol. i. p. 187].

"And well could *file* his tongue as ſmooth as glaſs."

See alſo Chaucer, "Prol." 713. Again, "Tr. et Cr." L. i. ver. 1681. The ſame metaphor occurs again in our author. See F. Q. ii. i. 3 [vol. ii. p. 87]; iii. ii. 12 [vol. ii. p. 366]. T. Warton. The expreſſion became ſo common, that there are few authors, from Chaucer downwards, in whoſe works it may not be found: we have hitherto not thought any note upon it called for. T. Warton himſelf cites Skelton, Shakeſpeare, Ben Jonſon, &c. C.

[u] *As baſe, or blunt.*] *Blunt* is *ignorant*, or *unciviliſed*; and is thus uſed in the "Shep. Cal." Sept. ver. 109. [Vol. i. p. 106.]

"All for her ſhepheards is beaſtly and *bloont*."

Todd. Todd miſquotes from not copying the firſt edit. and makes Spenſer write bad grammar: the line in the 4to. 1579, is,

"All for her ſhepheards *bene* beaſtly and *blont*." C.

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Even ſuch is all their vaunted vanitie,
Nought elſe but ſmoke that fumeth ſoone away:
Such is their glorie that in ſimple eie
Seeme greateſt, when their garments are moſt gay.
So they themſelves for praiſe of fooles do ſell,
And all their wealth for painting on a wall,
With price whereof they buy a golden bell,
And purchace higheſt rowmes in bowre and hall;
Whiles ſingle Truth and ſimple Honeſtie
Do wander up and downe deſpys'd of all;
Their plaine attire ſuch glorious gallantry
Diſdaines ſo much, that none them in doth call."
"Ah! Colin, (then ſaid Hobbinol) the blame
Which thou imputeſt is too generall,
As if not any gentle wit of name,
Nor honeſt mynd might there be found at all.
For well I wot, ſith I my ſelfe was there
To wait on Lobbin, (Lobbin well thou kneweſt)
Full many worthie ones then waiting were,
As ever elſe in Princes Court thou veweſt.
Of which among you many yet remaine,
Whoſe names I cannot readily now gheſſe:
Thoſe that poore Sutors papers do retaine,
And thoſe that ſkill of medicine profeſſe,
And thoſe that do to Cynthia expound
The ledden of ſtraunge languages[z] in charge;
For Cynthia doth in ſciences abound,

[z] *The ledden of ſtraunge languages.*] *Dialect;* a corruption, Mr. Tyrwhitt ſays, of *Latin*.—Dante, he adds, uſes *Latino* for *language*, Canz. 1.

"E cantine gli augelli
"Ciaſcuno in ſuo *latino*."

TODD. Spenſer has employed the ſame word in F. Q., where he ſpeaks of "the *ledden* of the gods," vol. iii. p. 279. Todd ordinarily omits the poet's own authority for an unuſual word, although it is always moſt appoſite. With regard to the Ital. *latino*, many other poets beſide Dante uſe it for *ſpeech*, or *language*. Drayton has "the *leden* of the birds," from the A. S. C.

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And gives to their profeſſors ſtipends large.
Therefore unjuſtly thou doeſt wyte them all,[7]
For that which thou miſlikedſt in a few."
" Blame is (quoth he) more blameleſſe generall,
Than that which private errours doth purſew;
For well I wot, that there amongſt them bee
Full many perſons of right worthie parts,
Both for report of ſpotleſſe honeſtie,
And for profeſſion of all learned arts,
Whoſe praiſe hereby no whit impaired is,
Though blame do light on thoſe that faultie bee:
For all the reſt do moſt-what far amis,[8]
And yet their owne misfaring will not ſee;
For either they be puffed up with pride,
Or fraught with envie that their galls do ſwell,
Or they their dayes to ydleneſſe divide,
Or drownded lie[8] in pleaſures waſtefull well,
In which like Moldwarps nouſling ſtill they lurke,
Unmyndfull of chiefe parts of manlineſſe;
And do themſelves, for want of other worke,
Vaine votaries of laeſie love profeſſe,
Whoſe ſervice high ſo baſely they enſew,
That Cupid ſelfe of them aſhamed is,
And, muſtring all his men in Venus vew,

---

[7] *unjuſtly thou doeſt wyte them all.*] i. e. *blame* them all, as frequently, not only in "The Shep. Cal." but in the F. Q. In vol. iii. p. 396, we have "twight," in the ſame ſenſe. C.

[8] *do moſt-what far amis.*] "Moſt-what" is *chiefly*, or *for the moſt part*. We here continue the text of the earlieſt impreſſion as reſpects the word *far*; but it is to be noted (a circumſtance not hitherto pointed out) that the folio 1611 has *fare* for "far" — "do moſt-what *fare* amis;" and recollecting that the word "misfaring" follows in the next line, we are inclined to think that Spenſer may have written "*fare* amis," and not "far amis." "Far amis" is, however, very intelligible, and muſt not be lightly changed. C.

[8] *Or drownded lie.*] The ſecond edition of theſe poems, the folio 1611, here has *drowned* for "drownded;" and farther on, p. 62, l. 858, the word is "drownd" in the firſt edition, as one ſyllable. C.

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Denies them quite for ſervitors of his."
"And is Love then (ſaid Corylas) once knowne
In Court, and his ſweet lore profeſſed there?
I weened ſure he was our God alone,
And only woond in fields and foreſts here:"
"Not ſo, (quoth he) love moſt aboundeth there.
For all the walls and windows there are writ,
All full of love, and love, and love my deare,
And all their talke and ſtudie is of it.
Ne any there doth brave or valiant ſeeme,
Unleſſe that ſome gay Miſtreſſe badge he beares;
Ne any one himſelfe doth ought eſteeme,
Unleſſe he ſwim in love up to the eares.
But they of love, and of his ſacred lere,
(As it ſhould be) all otherwiſe deviſe,
Then we poore ſhepheards are accuſtomd here,
And him do ſue and ſerve all otherwiſe;
For with lewd ſpeeches, and licentious deeds,
His mightie myſteries they do prophane,
And uſe his ydle name to other needs,
But as a complement for courting vaine.
So him they do not ſerve as they profeſſe,
But make him ſerve to them for ſordid uſes.
Ah! my dread Lord, that doeſt liege hearts poſſeſſe,
Avenge thy ſelfe on them for their abuſes.
But we poore ſhepheards, whether rightly ſo,
Or through our rudeneſſe into errour led,
Do make religion how we raſhly go
To ſerve that God, that is ſo greatly dred:
For him the greateſt of the Gods we deeme,
Borne without Syre or couples of one kynd;
For Venus ſelfe doth ſoly couples ſeeme,
Both male and female[b] through commixture joynd.

[b] *Both male and female,* &c.] See Mr. Upton's note on F. Q. iv. x. 41 [vol. ii. p. 264]. Todd.

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So pure and ſpotleſſe Cupid forth ſhe brought,
And in the gardens of Adonis nurſt;
Where growing he his owne perfection wrought,
And ſhortly was of all the Gods the firſt.
Then got he bow and ſhafts of gold and lead,
In which ſo fell and puiſſant he grew,
That Jove himſelfe his powre began to dread,
And, taking up to heaven, him godded new.[c]
From thence he ſhootes his arrowes every where
Into the world at random as he will,
On us fraile men, his wretched vaſſals here,
Like as himſelfe us pleaſeth ſave or ſpill.
So we him worſhip, ſo we him adore
With humble hearts to heaven uplifted hie,
That to true loves he may us evermore
Preferre, and of their grace us dignifie:
Ne is there ſhepheard, ne yet ſhepheards ſwaine,
What ever feeds in foreſt or in field,
That dare with evil deed or leaſing vaine
Blaſpheme his powre, or termes unworthie yield."
" Shepheard, it ſeemes that ſome celeſtiall rage
Of love (quoth Cuddy) is breath'd into thy breſt,
That powreth forth theſe oracles ſo ſage
Of that high powre, wherewith thou art poſſeſt;
But never wiſt I, till this preſent day,
Albe of love I alwayes humbly deemed,
That he was ſuch an one as thou doeſt ſay,
And ſo religiouſly to be eſteemed.
Well may it ſeeme, by this thy deep inſight,
That of that God the Prieſt thou ſhouldeſt be:

---

[c] *him godded new.*] Shakeſpeare has the verb " godded" in common with Spenſer, but he uſes it ſomewhat ironically: ſee " Coriolanus," A. v. Sc. 3. Warner, " Albion's England," edit. 1602, p. 210, has *goddiz'd*, for *goddeſſed*, in a ſimilar manner.
" And faire, lov'd, fear'd Elizabeth here *goddiz'd* ever ſince." C.

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So well thou wot'ſt the myſterie of his might,
As if his godhead thou didſt preſent ſee."
" Of Loves perfection perfectly to ſpeake,
Or of his nature rightly to define,
Indeed (ſaid Colin) paſſeth reaſons reach,
And needs his prieſt t' expreſſe his powre divine:
For long before the world he was ybore,
And bred above in Venus boſome deare;
For by his powre the world was made of yore,
And all that therein wondrous doth appeare.
For how ſhould elſe things ſo far from attone,[d]
And ſo great enemies as of them bee,
Be ever drawne together into one,
And taught in ſuch accordance to agree?
Through him the cold began to covet heat,
And water fire; the light to mount on hie,
And th' heavie downe to peize; the hungry t' eat,
And voydneſſe to ſeeke full ſatietie.
So, being former foes, they wexed friends,
And gan by litle learne to love each other:
So, being knit, they brought forth other kynds
Out of the fruitfull wombe of their great mother.
Then firſt gan heaven out of darkneſſe dread
For to appeare, and brought forth chearfull day:
Next gan the earth to ſhew her naked head
Out of deep waters which her drownd alway;
And, ſhortly after, everie living wight
Crept forth like wormes out of their ſlimie nature.
Soone as on them the Suns like giving light[e]

[d] *things ſo far from attone.*] " Attone," is *at one*, or *agree*—for how otherwiſe ſhould things ſo far from, or different from, each other *accord* together? We have had " attone" in vol. ii. p. 95, and there it means *reconcile;* but in vol. iii. pp. 2. 244, " attone," or " atone," is *at once*, and *at one time*. C.

[e] *the Suns like giving light.*] This, which is the language of every old copy, may be right, and we therefore preſerve it; but Todd changed

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Had powred kindly heat and formall feature,
Thenceforth they gan each one his like to love,
And like himſelfe deſire for to beget:
The Lyon choſe his mate, the Turtle dove
Her deare, the Dolphin his owne Dolphinet;
But man, that had the ſparke of reaſons might
More than the reſt to rule his paſſion,
Choſe for his love the faireſt in his ſight,
Like as himſelfe was faireſt by creation:
For beautie is the bayt which with delight
Doth man allure for to enlarge his kynd;
Beautie, the burning lamp of heavens light,
Darting her beames into each feeble mynd:
Againſt whoſe powre nor God nor man can fynd
Defence, ne ward the daunger of the wound;
But, being hurt, ſeeke to be medicynd
Of her that firſt did ſtir that mortall ſtownd.
Then do they cry and call to love apace,
With praiers lowd importuning the ſkie,
Whence he them heares; and, when he liſt ſhew grace,
Does graunt them grace that otherwiſe would die.
So love is Lord of all the world by right,
And rules their creatures by his powrfull ſaw,[f]
All being made the vaſſals of his might,
Through ſecret ſence which therto doth them draw.
Thus ought all lovers of their lord to deeme,
And with chaſte heart to honor him alway;

---

the epithet to "*life*-giving;" but even if we could be ſure that ſuch was the poet's compound, the alteration requires notice, which Todd entirely omitted. The light might be "like-giving," becauſe it communicated the ſame genial heat as the ſun. C.

[f] *by his powrfull ſaw.*] His powerful *ſentence, decree.* T. WARTON. "Saw" is ſtrictly *ſaying*, A. S. *ſaga:* Cupid rules all creatures by his powerful *word.* The folio 1611 reads, "And rules *the* creatures." Poſſibly, for "their" we ought to ſubſtitute *theſe*, meaning the creatures already enumerated. C.

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But who ſo elſe doth otherwiſe eſteeme,
Are outlawes, and his lore do diſobay;
For their deſire is baſe, and doth not merit
The name of love, but of diſloyall luſt:
Ne mongſt true lovers they ſhall place inherit,
But as Exuls out of his court be thruſt."
So having ſaid, Meliſſa ſpake at will:
"Colin, thou now full deeply haſt divynd
Of love and beautie; and, with wondrous ſkill,
Haſt Cupid ſelfe depainted in his kynd:
To thee are all true lovers greatly bound,
That doeſt their cauſe ſo mightily defend;
But moſt, all wemen are thy debtors found,
That doeſt their bountie ſtill ſo much commend."
"That ill (ſaid Hobbinol) they him requite;
For having loved ever one moſt deare,
He is repayd with ſcorne and foule deſpite,
That yrkes each gentle heart which it doth heare."
"Indeed (ſaid Lucid) I have often heard
Faire Roſalind of divers fowly blamed
For being to that ſwaine too cruell hard;
That her bright glorie elſe hath much defamed.
But who can tell what cauſe had that faire Mayd
To uſe him ſo, that uſed her ſo well;
Or who with blame can juſtly her upbrayd,
For loving not; for who can love compell?
And, ſooth to ſay, it is foolhardie thing,
Raſhly to wyten creatures ſo divine;
For demigods they be, and firſt did ſpring
From heaven, though graft in frailneſſe feminine.
And well I wote, that oft I heard it ſpoken,
How one, that faireſt Helene did revile,[8]

[8] *How one, that faireſt Helene did revile.*] He ſpeaks of the poet Steſichorus. JORTIN. His ſight was not reſtored until he had compoſed a Palinodia in laudation of the lady. C.

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Through judgement of the Gods to been ywroken,
Loſt both his eyes, and ſo remaynd long while,
Till he recanted had his wicked rimes,
And made amends to her with treble praiſe:
Beware therefore, ye groomes, I read betimes,
How raſhly blame of Roſalind ye raiſe."
"Ah! ſhepheards, (then ſaid Colin) ye ne weet
How great a guilt upon your heads ye draw,
To make ſo bold a doome, with words unmeet,
Of thing celeſtiall which ye never ſaw;
For ſhe is not like as the other crew
Of ſhepheards daughters which emongſt you bee,
But of divine regard and heavenly hew,
Excelling all that ever ye did ſee.
Not, then, to her that ſcorned thing ſo baſe,
But to my ſelfe the blame that lookt ſo hie:
So hie her thoughts as ſhe her ſelfe have place,
And loath each lowly thing with loftie eie.
Yet ſo much grace let her vouchſafe to grant
To ſimple ſwaine, ſith her I may not love,
Yet that I may her honour paravant,[h]
And praiſe her worth, though far my wit above.
Such grace ſhall be ſome guerdon for the griefe,
And long affliction which I have endured:
Such grace ſometimes ſhall give me ſome reliefe,
And eaſe of paine which cannot be recured.
And ye, my fellow ſhepheards, which do ſee
And hear the languours of my too long dying,
Unto the world for ever witneſſe bee,
That hers I die, nought to the world denying

[h] *I may her honour paravant.*] *Publicly.* The French *paravant*, however, is not, I believe, uſed in this ſenſe. But ſee alſo F. Q. vi. x. 15 [vol. iv. p. 196]. Todd. In vol. ii. p. 368, we have ſtated our opinion that here "paravant" is to be conſtrued *before all.* C.

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This ſimple trophe of her great conqueſt."—
So having ended,[1] he from ground did riſe;
And after him uproſe eke all the reſt:
All loth to part, but that the glooming ſkies
Warnd them to draw their bleating flocks to reſt. 955

[1] *So having ended.*] Hence we learn (if "Colin Clout's come Home again" were really dedicated to Sir Walter Raleigh in 1595, and not at the cloſe of 1591, as it ſtands printed), that Spenſer retained his love and his laudation of Roſalind to a late period of his life: it began before 1579, when his "Shepherd's Calendar" appeared, and the flame was by no means extinct at the date when Spenſer originally wrote "Colin Clout's come Home again." It has been generally, and not without reaſon, ſuppoſed that the poet made additions to, and alterations in the poem not long before it was publiſhed in 1595. C.

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ASTROPHEL.

A PASTORALL ELEGIE UPON THE DEATH OF

THE MOST NOBLE AND VALOROUS KNIGHT,

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.

DEDICATED TO THE MOST BEAUTIFULL AND VERTUOUS LADIE,

THE COUNTESSE OF ESSEX.

Shepheards, that wont on pipes of oaten reed
Oft times to plaine your loves concealed ſmart,
And with your piteous layes have learnd to breed
Compaſſion in a countrey laſſes hart,
Hearken, ye gentle ſhepheards, to my ſong,
And place my dolefull plaint your plaints emong.

To you alone I ſing this mournfull verſe,
The mournfulſt verſe that ever man heard tell;
To you whoſe ſoftened hearts it may empierſe
With dolours dart for death of Aſtrophel:
To you I ſing and to none other wight,
For well I wot my rymes bene rudely dight.

Yet as they been, if any nycer wit
Shall hap to heare, or covet them to read,
Thinke he, that ſuch are for ſuch ones moſt fit,
Made not to pleaſe the living, but the dead:
And if in him found pity ever place,
Let him be moov'd to pity ſuch a caſe.

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GENTLE Shepheard, borne in Arcady,
Of gentleſt race that ever ſhepheard bore,
About the graſſie bancks of Hæmony,[a]
Did keepe his ſheep, his litle ſtock and ſtore:
Full carefully he kept them, day and night,
In faireſt fields; and Aſtrophel he hight.

Young Aſtrophel,[b] the pride of ſhepheards praiſe,
Young Aſtrophel, the ruſticke laſſes love;
Far paſſing all the paſtors of his daies,
In all that ſeemly ſhepheard might behove:
In one thing onely fayling of the beſt,
That he was not ſo happie as the reſt.

For from the time that firſt the Nymph his mother
Him forth did bring, and taught her lambs to feed,
A ſclender ſwaine, excelling far each other,
In comely ſhape, like her that did him breed,
He grew up faſt in goodneſſe and in grace,
And doubly faire woxe both in mynd and face.

Which daily more and more he did augment,
With gentle uſage and demeanure myld,
That all mens hearts with ſecret raviſhment
He ſtole away, and weetingly beguyld:
Ne ſpight it ſelfe, that all good things doth ſpill,
Found ought in him that ſhe could ſay was ill.

His ſports were faire, his joyance innocent,
Sweet without ſowre, and honny without gall;

---

[a] *bancks of Hæmony.*] Æmonia was an earlier name for Theſſaly; but it has alſo been applied by ſome writers to the whole of Greece. C.

[b] *Young Aſtrophel.*] Sometimes, and perhaps more properly, ſpelt Aſtrophil—a name which Sir Philip Sidney gave to himſelf, and that of Stella to Lady Rich, with whom he was at one time in love: ſee l. 55. C.

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And he himſelfe ſeemd made for meriment,
Merily maſking both in bowre and hall.
There was no pleaſure, nor delightfull play,
When Aſtrophel ſo ever was away.

For he could pipe, and daunce, and caroll ſweet,
Emongſt the ſhepheards in their ſhearing feaſt;
As Somers larke that with her ſong doth greet
The dawning day forth comming from the Eaſt.
And layes of love he alſo could compoſe:
Thriſe happie ſhe whom he to praiſe did choſe!

Full many Maydens often did him woo,
Them to vouchſafe emongſt his rimes to name,
Or make for them, as he was wont to doo
For her that did his heart with love inflame:
For which they promiſed to dight for him
Gay chapelets of flowers and gyrlonds trim.

And many a Nymph, both of the wood and brooke,
Soone as his oaten pipe began to ſhrill,
Both chriſtall wells and ſhadie groves forſooke,
To heare the charmes of his enchanting ſkill;
And brought him preſents, flowers if it were prime,
Or mellow fruit if it were harveſt time.

But he for none of them did care a whit,
Yet wood Gods for them often ſighed ſore;
Ne for their gifts, unworthie of his wit,
Yet not unworthie of the countries ſtore:
For one alone he cared, for one he ſight,[c]
His lifes deſire, and his deare loves delight.

---

[c] *for one he ſight.*] i. e. *ſighed*, Spenſer's ordinary method of ſpelling the paſt tenſe of to *ſigh*: we have had it before in the ſame form; but Todd, following the folio 1611, printed *ſigh't*. C.

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Stella the faire, the faireſt ſtar in ſkie,
As faire as Venus or the faireſt faire,
A fairer ſtar ſaw never living eie,
Shot her ſharp pointed beames through pureſt aire:
Her he did love, her he alone did honor,
His thoughts, his rimes, his ſongs were all upon her.

To her he vowd the ſervice of his daies,
On her he ſpent the riches of his wit;
For her he made hymnes of immortall praiſe,
Of onely her he ſung, he thought, he writ.
Her, and but her, of love he worthie deemed;
For all the reſt but litle he eſteemed.

Ne her with ydle words alone he wowed,
And verſes vaine, (yet verſes are not vaine)
But with brave deeds to her ſole ſervice vowed,
And bold atchievements her did entertaine;
For both in deeds and words he nourtred was,
Both wiſe and hardie, (too hardie, alas!)

In wreſtling nimble, and in renning ſwift,[d]
In ſhooting ſteddie, and in ſwimming ſtrong:
Well made to ſtrike, to throw, to leape, to lift,
And all the ſports that ſhepheards are emong:
In every one he vanquiſht every one;
He vanquiſht all, and vanquiſht was of none.

Beſides, in hunting ſuch felicitie,
Or rather infelicitie, he found,
That every field and foreſt far away
He ſought, where ſalvage beaſts do moſt abound.
No beaſt ſo ſalvage but he could it kill,
No chace ſo hard but he therein had ſkill.

[d] *in renning ſwift.*] The old form of *running*, to which the word was altered in the folio 1611. A. S. *rennan*. C.

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Such ſkill, matcht with ſuch courage as he had,
Did prick him foorth with proud deſire of praiſe
To ſeek abroad, of daunger nought y'drad,
His miſtreſſe name and his owne fame to raiſe.
What needeth perill to be ſought abroad,
Since round about us it doth make aboad?

It fortuned, as he that perilous game
In forreine ſoyle purſued far away,
Into a foreſt wide and waſte he came,
Where ſtore he heard to be of ſalvage pray:
So wide a foreſt and ſo waſte as this,
Nor famous Ardeyn, nor fowle Arlo is.[e]

There his welwoven toyles, and ſubtil traines,
He laid the brutiſh nation to enwrap:
So well he wrought with practiſe and with paines,
That he of them great troups did ſoone entrap.
Full happie man (miſweening much) was hee,
So rich a ſpoile within his power to ſee.

Eftſoones, all heedleſſe of his deareſt hale,[f]
Full greedily into the heard he thruſt,
To ſlaughter them, and worke their finall bale,
Leaſt that his toyle ſhould of their troups be bruſt.[g]

---

[e] *Nor famous Ardeyn, nor fowle Arlo is.*] The foreſt of Ardenne has been celebrated by many poets and romance writers; and Spenſer has himſelf ſpoken of Arlo and of Arlo Hill in C. vi. of "Mutability," vol. iv. p. 254, in no very favourable terms. C.

[f] *of his deareſt hale.*] *Welfare*, Sax. *hæl*, ſanitas, ſalus. See Lye's "Sax. Dict." edit. Manning. Chaucer writes it *hele*. Todd. Spenſer uſes "hale" as an adjective in his "Shep. Cal." for July (vol. i. p. 84), where he ſays that his ſheep "like well," i. e. *thrive*, and are "*hale* enough:" A. S. *hælan*, to heal. C.

[g] *ſhould of their troups be bruſt.*] Such was Spenſer's mode of writing *burſt*, not merely for the ſake of the rhyme, but becauſe it was uſual with him and other poets of the time. We need not point out inſtances; but the folios, and various other editions, have improperly altered "bruſt" to *burſt*. Spenſer has even "thruſt" for *thirſt*, when it better ſuited his purpoſe. C.

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Wide wounds emongſt them many one he made,
Now with his ſharp boreſpear, now with his blade.

His care was all how he them all might kill,
That none might ſcape, (ſo partiall unto none:)
Ill mynd ſo much to mynd anothers ill,
As to become unmyndfull of his owne!
But pardon that unto the cruell ſkies,
That from himſelfe to them withdrew his eies.

So as he rag'd emongſt that beaſtly rout,
A cruell beaſt of moſt accurſed brood
Upon him turnd, (deſpeyre makes cowards ſtout)
And, with fell tooth,[h] accuſtomed to blood,
Launched his thigh with ſo miſchievous might,
That it both bone and muſcles ryved quight.

So deadly was the dint and deep the wound,
And ſo huge ſtreames of blood thereout did flow,
That he endured not the direfull ſtound,
But on the cold deare earth himſelfe did throw;
The whiles the captive heard his nets did rend,
And, having none to let, to wood did wend.

Ah! where were ye this while his ſhepheard peares,
To whom alive was nought ſo deare as hee?
And ye faire Mayds, the matches of his yeares,
Which in his grace did boaſt you moſt to bee?
Ah! where were ye, when he of you had need,
To ſtop his wound that wondrouſly did bleed?

[h] *And, with fell tooth.*] Whetſtone, in his account of the death of Sidney, 4to. 1587, likens the conteſt in which he was engaged to a hunt of ſavage beaſts:—

"A hunting fight this ſkirmidge may be calde
Of eager dogges," &c.

Regarding the wound he tells us—

"The wound was deepe and ſhivered the bone." C.

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Ah! wretched boy, the ſhape of dreryhead,
And ſad enſample of mans ſuddein end:
Full litle faileth but thou ſhalt be dead,
Unpitied, unplaynd of foe or frend!
Whileſt none is nigh thine eyelids up to cloſe,
And kiſſe thy lips like faded leaves of roſe.

A ſort of ſhepheards,[1] ſewing of the chace,
As they the foreſt raunged on a day,
By fate or fortune came unto the place,
Where as the luckleſſe boy yet bleeding lay;
Yet bleeding lay, and yet would ſtill have bled,
Had not good hap thoſe ſhepheards thether led.

They ſtopt his wound, (too late to ſtop it was)
And in their armes then ſoftly did him reare:
Tho (as he wild) unto his loved laſſe,
His deareſt love, him dolefully did beare.
The dolefulſt biere that ever man did ſee
Was Aſtrophel, but deareſt unto mee.

She, when ſhe ſaw her Love in ſuch a plight,
With crudled blood and filthie gore deformed,
That wont to be with flowers and gyrlonds dight,
And her deare favours dearly well adorned;
Her face, the faireſt face that eye mote ſee,
She likewiſe did deforme, like him to bee.

Her yellow locks, that ſhone ſo bright and long
As Sunny beames in faireſt ſomers day,
She fierſly tore, and with outragious wrong
From her red cheeks the roſes rent away;
And her faire breſt, the threaſury of joy,
She ſpoyld thereof, and filled with annoy.

[1] *A ſort of ſhepheards*, &c.] i. e. A *company* of ſhepherds, as frequently before. See vol. iv. p. 176, &c. C.

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His palled face, impictured with death,
She bathed oft with teares and dried oft;
And with ſweet kiſſes ſuckt the waſting breath
Out of his lips, like lillies pale and ſoft:
And oft ſhe cald to him, who anſwerd nought,
But onely by his lookes did tell his thought.

The reſt of her impatient regret,[k]
And piteous mone the which ſhe for him made,
No toong can tell, nor any forth can ſet,
But he whoſe heart like ſorrow did invade.
At laſt, when paine his vitall powres had ſpent,
His waſted life her weary lodge forwent.

Which when ſhe ſaw, ſhe ſtaied not a whit,
But after him did make untimely haſte:
Forth with her ghoſt out of her corps did flit,
And followed her make like Turtle chaſte:[l]

---

[k] *The reſt of her impatient regret.*] Spenſer has already employed the word "regret," in B. i. C. 7. of the F. Q. (vol. i. p. 289), and here again he uſes it in the ſame way. Nevertheleſs, it is one of the words which Florio takes credit for introducing into our language from the French, in his tranſlation of "Montaigne's Eſſays," fol. 1603: in his addreſs "to the reader" he enumerates "uncouth" terms, ſuch as he, for the firſt time, had obtained from the French: they are "entraine, conſcientious, endeare, tarniſh, comporte, efface, facilitate, amuſing, debauching, regret, effort, emotion, and ſuch like." Florio's claim to moſt, but not to all, of theſe ſeems to be well-founded. C.

[l] *And followed her make like Turtle chaſte.*] This ſeems an extraordinary licence on the part of the poet, becauſe Lady Sidney ſurvived her huſband, Sir Philip, many years, and became the wife of his friend, the Earl of Eſſex: beſides, this very poem is dedicated to Lady Eſſex after her ſecond marriage. Spenſer can only mean by the line,

"Forth her ghoſt out of her corps did flit,"

that ſhe fainted or ſwooned away, and was afterwards revived. If Spenſer, as indeed he ſays, meant Sidney's firſt love, Lady Rich, whom Sidney called Stella, he was ſtill as much in error, becauſe ſhe, too, long ſurvived Sidney, and ſubſequently married Mountjoy, Earl of Devon. Theſe circumſtances appear hitherto to have eſcaped remark. It is ſcarcely neceſſary to add that "make" and *mate* were often uſed ſynonymouſly by Spenſer and his contemporaries: ſee vol. iii. p. 192, &c. C.

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To prove that death their hearts cannot divide,
Which living were in love ſo firmly tide.

The Gods, which all things ſee, this ſame beheld,
And, pittying this paire of lovers trew,
Transformed them, there lying on the field,
Into one flowre that is both red and blew:
It firſt growes red, and then to blew doth fade,
Like Aſtrophel, which thereinto was made.

And in the midſt thereof a ſtar appeares,
As fairly formd as any ſtar in ſkyes,
Reſembling Stella in her freſheſt yeares,
Forth darting beames of beautie from her eyes;
And all the day it ſtandeth full of deow,
Which is the teares that from her eyes did flow.

That hearbe of ſome Starlight is cald by name,
Of others Penthia, though not ſo well;
But thou, where ever thou doeſt find the ſame,
From this day forth do call it Aſtrophel:
And when ſo ever thou it up doeſt take,
Do pluck it ſoftly for that ſhepheards ſake.

Hereof when tydings far abroad did paſſe,
The ſhepheards all, which loved him full deare,
And ſure full deare of all he loved was,
Did thether flock to ſee what they did heare;
And when that pitteous ſpectacle they vewed,
The ſame with bitter teares they all bedewed.

And every one did make exceeding mone,
With inward anguiſh and great griefe oppreſt;
And every one did weep and waile, and mone,
And meanes deviz'd to ſhew his ſorrow beſt;
That from that houre, ſince firſt on graſſie greene
Shepheards kept ſheep, was not like mourning ſeen.

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But firſt his ſiſter, that Clorinda hight,
The gentleſt ſhepheardeſſe that lives this day,
And moſt reſembling, both in ſhape and ſpright,
Her brother deare, began this dolefull lay.
Which, leaſt I marre the ſweetneſſe of the vearſe,
In ſort as ſhe it ſung I will rehearſe.[m]

AY me! to whom[n] ſhall I my caſe complaine,
That may compaſſion my impatient griefe?
Or where ſhall I unfold my inward paine,
That my enriven heart may find reliefe?
Shall I unto the heavenly powres it ſhow,
Or unto earthly men that dwell below?

To heavens? ah! they, alas! the authors were,
And workers of my unremedied wo;
For they foreſee what to us happens here,
And they foreſaw, yet ſuffred this be ſo:
From them comes good, from them comes alſo il;
That which they made, who can them warne to ſpill?

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[m] *In ſort as ſhe it ſung I will rehearſe.*] From this avowal I conclude that the following poem was not written by Spenſer, but by the ſiſter of Sir Philip, the accompliſhed Mary, Counteſs of Pembroke, here poetically called *Clarinda* [Clorinda]. We have already ſeen that ſhe was particularly ſkilled in poetry: ſee "The Ruines of Time," ver. 316, and the note there [vol. iv. p. 307]. All the ſubſequent poems on the death of Sir Philip are evidently a collection brought together by Spenſer. TODD. We may add here that in Daviſon's "Poetical Rhapſody," both in the edits. of 1602 and 1611, there is a Dialogue, in verſe, to which the name of Mary, Counteſs of Pembroke is ſubjoined: it is "in praiſe of Aſtrea," and is a compliment to Queen Elizabeth, though not avowedly ſo: the ſpeakers are two ſhepherds—Piers and Thenot. It occupies pp. 23, 24, 25 of the edit. 1611. Ritſon does not mention this "Lay of Clorinda." C.

[n] *Ay me! to whom*, &c.] In modern times it has been uſual to head this effuſion "The doleful Lay of Clorinda;" but it has no ſuch title in any of the original impreſſions, and, in fact, it merely forms a ſequel to the preceding ſtanzas. C.

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To men? ah! they, alas! like wretched bee,
And ſubject to the heavens ordinance;
Bound to abide what ever they decree,
Their beſt redreſſe is their beſt ſufferance:
How then can they, like wretched, comfort mee,
The which no leſſe need comforted to bee?

Then to my ſelſe will I my ſorrow mourne,
Sith none alive like ſorrowfull remaines:
And to my ſelfe my plaints ſhall back retourne,
To pay their uſury with doubled paines.
The woods, the hills, the rivers, ſhall reſound
The mournfull accent of my ſorrowes ground.

Woods, hills, and rivers, now are deſolate,
Sith he is gone the which them all did grace;
And all the fields do waile their widow ſtate,
Sith death their faireſt flowre did late deface:
The faireſt flowre in field that ever grew
Was Aſtrophel; that was, we all may rew.

What cruell hand of curſed foe unknowne,
Hath cropt the ſtalke which bore ſo faire a flowre;
Untimely cropt, before it well were growne,
And cleane defaced in untimely howre?
Great loſſe to all that ever him did ſee,°
Great loſſe to all, but greateſt loſſe to mee!

Breake now your gyrlonds, O ye ſhepheards laſſes!
Sith the faire flowre which them adornd is gon:
The flowre which them adornd is gone to aſhes,
Never againe let laſſe put gyrlond on.
In ſtead of gyrlond, weare ſad Cypres nowe,
And bitter Elder, broken from the bowe.

° *that ever him did ſee.*] "Did" is from the folio 1611: the firſt edit. is without this word, neceſſary both to metre and meaning. C.

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Ne ever ſing the love-layes which he made:
Who ever made ſuch layes of love as hee?
Ne ever read the riddles, which he ſayd
Unto your ſelves to make you mery glee:
  Your mery glee is now laid all abed,
  Your mery maker now, alaſſe! is dead.

Death, the devourer of all worlds delight,
Hath robbed you, and reft fro me my joy:
Both you and me, and all the world he quight
Hath robd of joyance, and left ſad annoy.
  Joy of the world, and ſhepheards pride was hee!
  Shepheards, hope never like againe to ſee.

Oh Death! that haſt us of ſuch riches reft,
Tell us, at leaſt, what haſt thou with it done?
What is become of him, whoſe flowre here left
Is but the ſhadow of his likeneſſe gone?
  Scarſe like the ſhadow of that which he was,
  Nought like, but that he like a ſhade did pas.

But that immortall ſpirit, which was deckt
With all the dowries of celeſtiall grace,
By ſoveraine choyce from th' hevenly quires ſelect,
And lineally deriv'd from Angels race,
  O! what is now of it become aread?
  Ay me! can ſo divine a thing be dead?

Ah! no: it is not dead, ne can it die,
But lives for aie, in blisfull Paradiſe;
Where like a new-borne babe it ſoft doth lie,
In bed of lillies wrapt in tender wiſe;
  And compaſt all about with roſes ſweet,
  And daintie violets from head to feet.

There thouſand birds, all of celeſtiall brood,
To him do ſweetly caroll day and night;

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And with ſtraunge notes, of him well underſtood,
Lull him a ſleep in Angelick delight;
  Whileſt in ſweet dreame to him preſented bee
  Immortall beauties, which no eye may ſee.

But he them ſees, and takes exceeding pleaſure
Of their divine aſpects, appearing plaine,
And kindling love in him above all meaſure,
Sweet love, ſtill joyous, never feeling paine;
  For what ſo goodly forme he there doth ſee,
  He may enjoy from jealous rancor free.

There liveth he in everlaſting blis,
Sweet ſpirit, never fearing more to die;
Ne dreading harme from any foes of his,
Ne fearing ſalvage beaſts more crueltie,
  Whileſt we here, wretches, waile his private lack,
  And with vaine vowes do often call him back.

But live thou there, ſtill happie, happie ſpirit!
And give us leave thee here thus to lament;
Not thee that doeſt thy heavens joy inherit,
But our owne ſelves that here in dole are drent.[p]
  Thus do we weep and waile, and wear our eies,
  Mourning in others our owne miſeries.

WHICH when ſhe ended had, another ſwaine
Of gentle wit and daintie ſweet device,
Whom Aſtrophel full deare did entertaine
Whileſt here he liv'd, and held in paſſing price,

[p] *that here in dole are drent.*] *Drenched* or *drowned:* ſee vol. iii. p. 420, &c. C.

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Hight Theſtylis, began his mournfull tourne :
And made the Muſes in his ſong to mourne.

And after him full many other moe,
As everie one in order lov'd him beſt,
Gan dight themſelves t' expreſſe their inward woe
With dolefull lays, unto the time addreſt :
The which I here in order will rehearſe,
As fitteſt flowres to deck his mournfull hearſe.

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THE MOURNING MUSE OF THESTYLIS.[a]

COME forth, ye Nymphes, come forth! forſake your watry bowres,
Forſake your moſſy caves, and help me to lament:
Help me to tune my dolefull notes to gurgling ſound
Of Liffies tumbling ſtreames: Come, let ſalt teares of ours,
Mix with his waters freſh. O come! let one conſent
Joyne us to mourne with wailfull plaints the deadly wound
Which fatall clap hath made, decreed by higher powres.
The dreery day in which they have from us yrent
The nobleſt plant that might from Eaſt to Weſt be found.

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[a] *The mourning Muſe of Theſtylis.*] In 1587 the following licence, among others, was granted by the Stationers' Company to John Wolf, printer, viz. "The mourning Muſes of Lod. Bryſket vpon the death of the moſt noble Sir Phillip Sydney knight &c." And, in a manuſcript copy of this poem, preſerved in the archiepiſcopal library at Lambeth Palace, the following poem is expreſſly given to Bryſkett. Mr. Warton has ſuppoſed it, but clearly without authority, to be Spenſer's. See his Obſervations on the "Faer. Qu." vol. i. p. 223. Bryſkett, as I have ſhown in the Life of the Poet, was Spenſer's friend. Todd. We may probably conclude that Theſtylis, in "Colin Clout's come Home again," was meant for Lod. Bryſkett. C.

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Mourne, mourn, great Phillips fall, mourn we his wofull
end,
Whom ſpitefull death hath pluct untimely from the tree,
Whiles yet his yeares in flowre did promiſe worthie frute.
Ah dreadful Mars! why didſt thou not thy knight
defend?
What wrathfull mood, what fault of ours, hath moved
thee
Of ſuch a ſhining light to leave us deſtitute?
Tho[u] with benigne aſpect ſometime didſt us behold,
Thou haſt in Britons valour tane delight of old,
And with thy preſence oft vouchſaft to attribute
Fame and renowme to us for glorious martiall deeds.
But now thy ireful bemes[b] have chill'd our harts with
cold;
Thou haſt eſtrang'd thy ſelf, and deigneſt not our land:
Farre off to others now thy favour honour breeds,
And high diſdaine doth cauſe thee ſhun our clime, (I feare;)
For hadſt thou not bene wroth, or that time neare at hand,
Thou wouldſt have heard the cry that wofull England
made;
Eke Zelands piteous plaints, and Hollands toren heare,[c]
Would haply have appeas'd thy divine angry mynd:
Thou ſhouldſt have ſeen the trees refuſe to yeeld their
ſhade,
And wailing to let fall the honor of their head;
And birds in mournfull tunes lamenting in their kinde.
Up from his tombe the mightie Corineus roſe,

---

[b] *But now thy ireful bemes.*] All old editions read "*their* ireful beames," but it is a decided miſprint, and ſo it has uſually been treated; but if *their* be amended to "thy," it is right to inform the reader of the variation, which has not always been done in modern reprints. C.

[c] *and Hollands toren heare.*] So *hair* was ſometimes written for the rhyme; but although here neceſſary on that account, it is printed *haire* in the folio 1611: "toren" was required in order to make the word *torn* two ſyllables. C.

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Who curſing oft the fates that this miſhap had bred,
His hoary locks he tare, calling the heavens unkinde.
The Thames was heard to roare, the Reyne and eke the Moſe,
The Schald, the Danow ſelfe, this great miſchance did rue
With torment and with grief: their fountains pure and cleere
Were troubled, and with ſwelling flouds declar'd their woes.
The Muſes comfortles, the Nymphs with paled hue,
The Silvan Gods likewiſe, came running farre and neere,
And all with teares bedeawd, and eyes caſt up on hie;
O help, O help, ye Gods! they ghaſtly gan to crie.
O! chaunge the cruell fate of this ſo rare a wight,
And graunt that natures courſe may meaſure out his age.
The beaſts their foode forſooke, and trembling fearfully,
Each ſought his cave or den, this cry did them ſo fright.
Out from amid the waves, by ſtorme then ſtirr'd to rage,
This crie did cauſe to riſe th' old father Ocean hoare,
Who, grave with eld, and full of majeſtie in ſight,
Spake in this wiſe. "Refrain (quoth he) your teares and plaints,
Ceaſe theſe your idle words; make vaine requeſts no more.
No humble ſpeech, nor mone, may move the fixed ſtint
Of deſtinie or death: Such is his will that paints
The earth with colours freſh, the darkeſt ſkies with ſtore
Of ſtarry lights: and though your teares a hart of flint
Might tender make, yet nought herein they will prevaile."

Whiles thus he ſaid, the noble knight, who gan to feele
His vitall force to faint, and death with cruell dint
Of direfull dart his mortall bodie to aſſaile,
With eyes lift up to heav'n, and courage franke as ſteele,

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With cheerfull face, where valour lively was expreſt,
But humble mynd, he ſaid. "O Lord! if ought this fraile
And earthly carcaſſe have thy ſervice ſought t' advaunce;
If my deſire have bene ſtill to relieve th' oppreſt;
If Juſtice to maintaine that valour I have ſpent
Which thou me gav'ſt; or if henceforth I might advaunce
Thy name, thy truth, then ſpare me (Lord) if thou think beſt,
Forbeare theſe unripe yeares. But if thy will be bent,
If that prefixed time be come which thou haſt ſet;
Through pure and fervent faith I hope now to be plaſt
In th' everlaſting blis, which with thy precious blood
Thou purchaſe didſt for us." With that a ſigh he fet,[d]
And ſtraight a cloudie miſt his ſences overcaſt;
His lips waxt pale and wan, like damaſke roſes bud
Caſt from the ſtalke, or like in field to purple flowre,
Which languiſheth being ſhred by culter as it paſt.
A trembling chilly cold ran throgh their veines, which were
With eies brimfull of teares to ſee his fatall howre,
Whoſe bluſtring ſighes at firſt their ſorrow did declare;
Next, murmuring enſude; at laſt they not forbeare
Plaine outcries, all againſt the heav'ns that enviouſly
Depriv'd us of a ſpright ſo perfect and ſo rare.
The Sun his lightſom beames did ſhrowd, and hide his face
For griefe, whereby the earth feard night eternally:
The mountaines eachwhere ſhooke, the rivers turn'd their ſtreames,
And th' aire gan, winterlike, to rage and fret apace:
And griſly ghoſts by night were ſeene, and fierie gleames,
Amid the clouds with claps of thunder, that did ſeeme

[d] *With that a ſigh he fet.*] i. e. *fetched:* ſee vol. iii. p. 344: A. S. *fetian.* C.

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To rent the ſkies, and made both man and beaſt afeard.
The birds of ill preſage this luckleſſe chance foretold,
By dernfull noiſe;[e] and dogs with howling made man deeme
Some miſchief was at hand: for ſuch they do eſteeme
As tokens of miſhap, and ſo have done of old.
Ah! that thou hadſt but heard his lovely Stella plaine
Her greevous loſſe, or ſeene her heavie mourning cheere,
While ſhe, with woe oppreſt, her ſorrowes did unfold!
Her haire hung loſe, negleƈt, about her ſhoulders twaine;
And from thoſe two bright ſtarres, to him ſometime ſo deere
Her heart ſent drops of pearle, which fell in foyſon downe[f]
Twixt lilly and the roſe. She wroong her hands with paine,
And piteouſly gan ſay, "My true and faithfull pheere,
Alas, and woe is me! why ſhould my fortune frowne
On me thus frowardly to rob me of my joy?
What cruell envious hand hath taken thee away,
And with thee my content, my comfort, and my ſtay?
Thou onelie waſt the eaſe of trouble and annoy,
When they did me aſſaile; in thee my hopes did reſt.
Alas! what now is left but grief, that night and day
Afflicts this wofull life, and with continuall rage
Torments ten thouſand waies my miſerable breſt?
O greedie envious heav'n! what needed thee to have
Enricht with ſuch a Jewell this unhappie age,
To take it back againe ſo ſoone? Alas! when ſhall

---

[e] *By dernfull noiſe.*] "Dernfull" is *diſmal* or *melancholy*, from *dern*, A. S. *dyrran*, *occultare*. Richardſon has "dernfull," but gives no example of its uſe. See F. Q. vol. ii. p. 342, &c. C.

[f] *which fell in foyſon downe.*] "Foyſon" always means *abundance, plenty;* but the etymology is diſputed, whether from the Lat. *fuſio*, or from the Dutch *faſen*. C.

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Mine eies ſee ought that may content them, ſince thy grave
My onely treaſure hides, the joyes of my poore heart?
As here with thee on earth I liv'd, even ſo equall
Me thinkes it were with thee in heav'n I did abide:
And as our troubles all we here on earth did part,
So reaſon would that there of thy moſt happie ſtate
I had my ſhare. Alas! if thou my truſtie guide
Were wont to be, how canſt thou leave me thus alone
In darkneſſe and aſtray; weake, wearie, deſolate,
Plung'd in a world of woe, refuſing for to take
Me with thee to the place of reſt where thou art gone?"
This ſaid, ſhe held her peace, for ſorrow tide her toong;
And, inſteed of more words, ſeemd that her eies a lake
Of teares had bene, they flow'd ſo plenteouſly therefro;
And with her ſobs and ſighs th' aire round about her roong.

If Venus, when ſhe waild her deare Adonis ſlaine,
Ought moov'd in thy fiers hart compaſſion of her woe,
His noble ſiſters plaints, her ſighes and teares emong,
Would ſure have made thee milde, and inly rue her paine:
Aurora halfe ſo faire her ſelfe did never ſhow,
When from old Tithons bed ſhee weeping did ariſe.
The blinded archer-boy, like larke in ſhowre of raine,
Sat bathing of his wings, and glad the time did ſpend
Under thoſe criſtall drops which fell from her faire eies;
And at their brighteſt beames him proynd in lovely wiſe:[g]
Yet ſorie for her grief, which he could not amend,
The gentle boy gan wipe her eies, and clear thoſe lights,
Thoſe lights through which his glory and his conqueſts ſhine.

[g] *him proynd in lovely wiſe.*] "Proynd" is the old form of *prun'd*, and was pretty conſtantly uſed anterior to the time of Spenſer: he, however, has *prune* (F. Q. vol. iii. p. 138), in reference to the operation of a bird ſetting ſtraight her "disfigured feathers." Tyrwhitt derives "proine" and *prune* from the Fr. *provigner*: ſee alſo p. 92, l. 24. C.

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The Graces tuckt her hair, which hung, like threds of gold,
Along her yvorie breſt, the treaſure of delights.
All things with her to weep, it ſeemed, did encline,
The trees, the hills, the dales, the caves, the ſtones ſo cold.
The aire did help them mourne, with dark cloudś, raine, and miſt,
Forbearing many a day to cleare it ſelfe againe;
Which made them eftſoones feare the daies of Pirrha ſhold
Of creatures ſpoile the earth, their fatall threds untwiſt:
For Phœbus gladſome raies were wiſhed for in vaine,
And with her quivering light Latonas daughter faire,
And Charles-waine eke refus'd to be the ſhipmans guide.
On Neptune warre was made by Aeolus and his traine,
Who, letting looſe the winds, toſt and tormented th' aire,
So that on ev'ry coaſt men ſhipwrack did abide,
Or elſe were ſwallowed up in open ſea with waves,
And ſuch as came to ſhoare were beaten with deſpaire.
The Medwaies ſilver ſtreames, that wont ſo ſtill to ſlide,
Were troubled now and wrothe; whoſe hidden hollow caves,
Along his banks, with fog then ſhrowded from man's eye,
Ay Phillip did reſownd; aie Phillip! they did crie.
His Nimphs were ſeen no more (thogh cuſtom ſtil it craves)
With haire ſpred to the wynd themſelves to bath or ſport,
Or with the hooke or net, barefooted, wantonly,
The pleaſant daintie fiſh to entangle or deceive.
The ſhepheards left their wonted places of reſort,
Their bagpipes now were ſtill; their loving mery layes
Were quite forgot: and now their flocks men might perceive
To wander and to ſtraie, all careleſly neglect.

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And, in the ſtead of mirth and pleaſure, nights and dayes
Nought els was to be heard but woes, complaints, and mone.
But thou (O bleſſed ſoule!) doeſt haply not reſpect
Theſe teares we ſhead, though full of loving pure affect,
Having affixt thine eyes on that moſt glorious throne,
Where full of majeſtie the high Creator reignes;
In whoſe bright ſhining face thy joyes are all complete,
Whoſe love kindles thy ſpright; where, happie alwaies one,
Thou liv'ſt in blis that earthly paſſion never ſtaines;
Where from the pureſt ſpring the ſacred Nectar ſweete
Is thy continuall drinke; where thou doeſt gather now
Of well emploied life th' ineſtimable gaines.
There Venus on thee ſmiles, Apollo gives thee place,
And Mars in reverent wiſe doth to thy vertue bow,
And decks his fiery ſphere to do thee honour moſt.
In higheſt part whereof, thy valour for to grace,
A chaire of gold he ſetts to thee, and there doth tell
Thy noble acts arew;[h] whereby even they that boaſt
Themſelves of auncient fame, as Pirrhus, Hanniball,
Scipio, and Cæſar, with the reſt that did excell
In martiall proweſſe, high thy glorie do admire.
All haile, therefore, O worthie Phillip immortall!
The flowre of Sydneyes race, the honour of thy name!
Whoſe worthie praiſe to ſing my Muſes not aſpire,
But ſorrowfull and ſad theſe teares to let thee fall;
Yet wiſh their verſes might ſo farre and wide thy fame
Extend, that envies rage, nor time, might end the ſame.

[h] *Thy noble acts arew.*] *On a row*, or *one after the other:* ſee vol. ii. p. 450; vol. iii. p. 380, &c. C.

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A PASTORALL AEGLOGUE[a]

UPON THE DEATH OF SIR PHILLIP SIDNEY, KNIGHT, ETC.

LYCON. COLIN.[b]

COLIN, well fits thy ſad cheare this ſad ſtownd,
This wofull ſtownd, wherein all things complaine
This great miſhap, this greevous loſſe of owres.
Hear'ſt thou the Orown? how with hollow ſownd

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[a] *A paſtorall Aeglogue*, &c.] The ſignature to this poem is L. B., that is, Lodowick Bryſkett. Mr. Warton's conjecture, that *Lord Brooke* might be the perſon deſigned by thoſe initials, cannot, I believe, be ſupported. Mr. Warton, however, concedes that L. B. may ſignify the author's name, as in the poem we have neither the perſpicuity nor the harmony of *Spenſer*. TODD. It does not ſeem likely that Lod. Bryſkett would write or Spenſer print two poems by the ſame man on the ſame ſubject; but we cannot plauſibly aſſign the initials L. B. to any other poet of that period. Ritſon does not mention this "Paſtoral Eclogue" as by Bryſkett, though he gives him "The Mourning Muſe of Theſtylis." It muſt be admitted that this Eclogue is much in the ſtyle and ſtrain of the preceding poem. C.

[b] *Lycon. Colin.*] Lycon is the writer, and Colin, as uſual, Spenſer. Lod. Bryſkett, in his proſe "Diſcourſe of Civil Life," not printed till 1606, made Spenſer one of the perſons holding the Dialogue. We ſhall ſee hereafter that Spenſer eſpecially names Bryſkett in one of his Sonnets, which mentions "the Fairy Queen." C.

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He ſlides away, and murmuring doth plaine,
And ſeemes to ſay unto the fading flowres,
Along his bankes, unto the bared trees,
Phillifides is dead. Up, jolly ſwaine,
Thou that with ſkill canſt tune a dolefull lay,
Help him to mourn. My hart with grief doth freeſe,
Hoarſe is my voice with crying, elſe a part
Sure would I beare, though rude: But, as I may,
With ſobs and ſighes I ſecond will thy ſong,
And ſo expreſſe the ſorrowes of my hart.

COLIN. Ah Lycon, Lycon! what need ſkill, to teach
A grieved mynd powre forth his plaints? how long
Hath the pore Turtle gon to ſchool (weeneſt thou)
To learne to mourne her loſt make? No, no; each
Creature by nature can tell how to waile.
Seeſt not theſe flocks, how ſad they wander now?
Seemeth their leaders bell their bleating tunes
In dolefull ſound. Like him, not one doth faile
With hanging head to ſhew a heavie cheere:
What bird (I pray thee) haſt thou ſeen, that prunes
Himſelfe of late? did any cheerfull note
Come to thine eares, or gladſome ſight appeare
Unto thine eies, ſince that ſame fatall howre?
Hath not the aire put on his mourning coat,
And teſtified his grief with flowing teares?
Sith, then, it ſeemeth each thing to his powre
Doth us invite to make a ſad conſort,
Come, let us joyne our mournfull ſong with theirs.
Griefe will endite, and ſorrow will enforce
Thy voice, and eccho will our words report.

LYCON. Though my rude rymes ill with thy verſes frame,
That others farre excell, yet will I force
My ſelfe to anſwere thee the beſt I can,
And honor my baſe words with his high name.

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But if my plaints annoy thee where thou ſit
In ſecret ſhade or cave, vouchſafe (O Pan)
To pardon me, and here this ſad conſtraint
With patience while I ſing, and pittie it.
And eke, ye rurall Muſes, that do dwell
In theſe wilde woods, if ever piteous plaint
We did endite, or taught a wofull minde
With words of pure affect his griefe to tell,
Inſtruct me now. Now, Colin, then; goe on,
And I will follow thee, though farre behinde.
COLIN. Phillifides is dead. O harmfull death!
O deadly harme! Unhappie Albion,
When ſhalt thou ſee, emong thy ſhepheards all,
Any ſo ſage, ſo perfect? Whom uneath
Envie could touch for vertuous life and ſkill;
Curteous, valiant, and liberall.
Behold the ſacred Pales, where, with haire
Untruſt, ſhe ſitts in ſhade of yonder hill.
And her faire face, bent ſadly downe, doth ſend
A floud of teares to bathe the earth; and there
Doth call the heav'ns deſpightfull, envious:
Cruell his fate, that made ſo ſhort an end
Of that ſame life, well worthie to have bene
Prolongd with many yeares, happie and famous.
The Nymphs and Oreades her round about
Do ſit lamenting on the graſſie grene;
And with ſhrill cries, beating their whiteſt breſts,
Accuſe the direfull dart that death ſent out
To give the fatall ſtroke. The ſtarres they blame,
That deafe or careleſſe ſeeme at their requeſt.
The pleaſant ſhade of ſtately groves they ſhun;
They leave their criſtall ſprings, where they wont frame
Sweet bowres of Myrtel twigs and Lawrel faire,
To ſport themſelves free from the ſcorching Sun,
And now the hollow caves, where horror darke

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Doth dwell, whence baniſht is the gladſome aire,
They ſeeke; and there in mourning ſpend their time
With wailfull tunes, whiles wolves do howle and barke,
And ſeem to beare a bourdon[c] to their plaint.
LYCON. Phillifides is dead. O dolefull ryme!
Why ſhould my toong expreſſe thee? who is left
Now to uphold thy hopes, when they do faint,
Lycon unfortunate? What ſpitefull fate,
What luckleſſe deſtinie, hath thee bereft
Of thy chief comfort; of thy onely ſtay?
Where is become thy wonted happie ſtate,
(Alas!) wherein through many a hill and dale,
Through pleaſant woods, and many an unknowne way,
Along the bankes of many ſilver ſtreames,
Thou with him yodeſt?[d] and with him didſt ſcale
The craggie rocks of th' Alpes and Appenine,
Still with the Muſes ſporting, while thoſe beames
Of vertue kindled in his noble breſt,
Which after did ſo glorioufly forth ſhine.
But (woe is me!) they now yquenched are
All ſuddeinly, and death hath them oppreſt.
Loe! father Neptune, with ſad countenance,
How he ſitts mourning on the ſtrond now bare,
Yonder, where th' Ocean with his rolling waves

---

[c] *And ſeem to beare a bourdon.*] "Bourdon" is an old form of *burden*, and Chaucer alſo ſpells it *burdon*: it means the *weight*, or continuation of a ſong which has been given by another perſon. It is ſometimes written and printed *burthen*; but it may be a word derived from the ſound, and Tyrwhitt ſtates that it is "a humming noiſe; the baſs in muſic." In this place, in the 4to., it is ſpelt "bourdon," but in the folio it is *burden*. Richardſon in his Dict. attributes this poem to Spenſer, and not to L. Bryſkett, to whom, on the whole, it muſt be aſſigned. C.

[d] *Thou with him yodeſt.*] "Yodeſt" is the ſecond perſon of the paſt tenſe of *yode*, to go: "thou with him *wenteſt*." Spenſer has the verb in various forms, (vol. i. p. 107; vol. ii. p. 40, &c.) and "yode" is only *gode* or *go-ed*, the *g* having been changed to *y*, or the *y* to *g*. Hence we learn, perhaps, that Bryſkett had travelled with Sidney in Italy. C.

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The white feete waſheth (wailing this miſchance)
Of Dover cliffes. His ſacred ſkirt about
The ſea-gods all are ſet; from their moiſt caves
All for his comfort gathered there they be:
The Thamis rich, the Humber rough and ſtout,
The fruitfull Severne, with the reſt, are come
To helpe their Lord to mourne, and eke to ſee
The dolefull ſight, and ſad pomp funerall,
Of the dead corps paſſing through his kingdome.
And all their heads, with Cypres gyrlonds crown'd,
With wofull ſhrikes ſalute him, great and ſmall:
Eke wailfull Eccho, forgetting her deare
Narciſſus, their laſt accents doth reſownd.

COLIN. Phillifides is dead. O luckleſſe age!
O widow world! O brookes and fountains cleere!
O hills, O dales, O woods! that oft have rong
With his ſweet caroling, which could aſſwage
The fierceſt wrath of Tygre or of Beare.
Ye Silvans, Fawnes, and Satyres, that emong
Theſe thickets oft have daunſt after his pipe;
Ye Nymphs and Nayades with golden heare,
That oft have left your pureſt criſtall ſprings
To harken to his layes, that coulden wipe
Away all griefe and ſorrow from your harts,
Alas! who now is left that like him ſings?
When ſhall you heare againe like harmonie?
So ſweet a ſownd who to you now imparts?
Loe! where engraved by his hand yet lives
The name of Stella in yonder bay tree.
Happie name! happie tree! faire may you grow,
And ſpred your ſacred branch, which honor gives
To famous Emperours, and Poets crowne.
Unhappie flock, that wander ſcattred now,
What marvell if through grief ye woxen leane,
Forſake your food, and hang your heads adowne,

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For ſuch a ſhepheard never ſhall you guide,
Whoſe parting hath of weale bereft you cleane.
LYCON. Phillifides is dead. O happie ſprite,
That now in heav'n with bleſſed ſoules doeſt bide!
Looke down a while from where thou ſitſt above,
And ſee how buſie ſhepheards be to endite
Sad ſongs of grief, their ſorrowes to declare,
And gratefull memory of their kynd love.
Behold my ſelfe, with Colin, gentle ſwaine,
(Whoſe lerned Muſe thou cheriſht moſt whyleare,)
Where we, thy name recording, ſeeke to eaſe
The inward torment, and tormenting paine,
That thy departure to us both hath bred,
Ne can each others ſorrow yet appeaſe.
Behold the fountains, now left deſolate,
And withred graſſe with Cypres boughes beſpred;[e]
Behold theſe floures which on thy grave we ſtrew;
Which, faded, ſhew the giver's faded ſtate,
(Though eke they ſhew their fervent zeale and pure)
Whoſe only comfort on thy welfare grew.
Whoſe praiers importune ſhall the heav'ns for ay,
That to thy aſhes reſt they may aſſure:
That learnedſt ſhepheards honor may thy name
With yeerly praiſes, and the Nymphs alway
Thy tomb may deck with freſh and ſweeteſt flowres;
And that for ever may endure thy fame.
COLIN. The Sun (lo!) haſtned hath his face to ſteep
In weſtern waves; and th' aire with ſtormy ſhowres
Warnes us to drive homewards our ſilly ſheep:
Lycon, lett's riſe, and take of them good keep.

Virtute ſumma: cætera fortuna.

L. B.

[e] *with Cypres boughes beſpred.*] Todd printed "beſpred" as if it were two words—*be ſpred:* ſuch is not the caſe in any of the old copies; but ſtill the point would hardly be worth noticing if it had not miſled all ſubſequent editors. C.

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AN ELEGIE,[a] OR FRIENDS PASSION, FOR HIS ASTROPHILL.

Written upon the death of the right Honourable SIR PHILIP SIDNEY, *Knight, Lord governour of Flushing.*

AS then, no winde at all there blew,
No ſwelling cloude accloid the aire;
The ſkie, like glaſſe of watchet hew,[b]
Reflected Phœbus golden haire;
The garniſht tree no pendant ſtird,
No voice was heard of anie bird.

[a] *An Elegie*, &c.] This poem was written by Matthew Roydon, as we are informed in Naſh's Preface to Greene's "Arcadia," and in "Engl. Parnaſſus." "The Phoenix Neſt, ſet foorth by R. S. of the Inner Temple, Gentleman," 4to. 1593, commences alſo with "An Elegie, or friends paſſion, for his Aſtrophill," &c. TODD. Todd refers to "Naſh's Preface to Greene's Arcadia," but it was originally called Greene's "Menaphon," in 1587, and until the title was altered to take advantage of the popularity of Sidney's "Arcadia." Naſh's words reſpecting Roydon are theſe: "He hath ſhewed himſelfe ſingular in the immortal epitaph of his beloved Aſtrophell, beſides many other abſolute comicke inventions." Theſe "comic inventions" have not ſurvived; and, excepting two commendatory ſonnets, nothing more by Roydon is known. He was a perſon of ſuch importance in 1594 and 1595, that Chapman dedicated two of his productions to him. How Roydon fell into poverty afterwards we cannot aſcertain; but Edward Alleyn, the founder of Dulwich College, enters in his Diary twice, that he had relieved Matthew Roydon by giving him 6*d.* and 8*d.* in 1622. "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," publiſhed by the Shakeſpeare Society in 1841, p. 155. C.

[b] *The ſkie, like glaſſe of watchet hew.*] "Watchet" was light blue;

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There might you ſee the burly Beare,
The Lion king, the Elephant;
The maiden Unicorne was there,
So was Acteons horned plant,
And what of wilde or tame are found
Were coucht in order on the ground.

Alcides ſpeckled poplar tree,
The palme that Monarchs do obtaine,
With love-juice ſtaind the mulberie,
The fruit that dewes the Poets braine;
And Phillis philbert there away,
Comparde with mirtle and the bay.

The tree that coffins doth adorne,
With ſtately height threatning the ſkie;
And, for the bed of Love forlorne,
The blacke and dolefull Ebonie;
All in a circle compaſt were,
Like to an Ampitheater.

Upon the branches of thoſe trees
The airie winged people ſat,
Diſtinguiſhed in od degrees,
One ſort is this, another that,
Here Philomell, that knowes full well
What force and wit in love doth dwell.

The ſkiebred Egle, roiall bird,
Percht there upon an oke above;

---

but, inaſmuch as "graſs" is never blue, we muſt read "glaſſe" for *graſs*. We are ſupported in this emendation by the copy of the "Elegie," printed in "The Phoenix Neſt," 1593, where, however, it is anonymous: there "glaſſe" is ſubſtituted for *graſſe*. In "The Two Gent. of Verona," A. iv. Sc. 4, it ſeems that *glaſs* has there been miſprinted for "graſs." C.

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The Turtle by him never ſtird,
Example of immortall love.
The ſwan that ſings about to dy,
Leaving Meander, ſtood thereby.

And that which was of woonder moſt,
The Phœnix left ſweet Arabie;
And, on a Cædar in this coaſt,
Built up her tombe of ſpicerie,
As I conjecture, by the ſame
Preparde to take her dying flame.

In midſt and center of this plot,
I ſaw one groveling on the graſſe:
A man or ſtone, I knew not that;
No ſtone; of man the figure was,
And yet I could not count him one,
More than the image made of ſtone.

At length I might perceive him reare
His bodie on his elbow end:
Earthly and pale with ghaſtly cheare,
Upon his knees he upward tend,
Seeming like one in uncouth ſtound,
To be aſcending out the ground.

A grievous ſigh forthwith he throwes,
As might have torne the vitall ſtrings;
Then down his cheeks the teares ſo flows,
As doth the ſtreame of many ſprings.
So thunder rends the cloud in twaine,
And makes a paſſage for the raine.

Incontinent, with trembling ſound
He wofully gan to complaine;

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Such were the accents as might wound,
And teare a diamond rocke in twaine:
After his throbs did ſomewhat ſtay,
Thus heavily he gan to ſay.

O ſunne! (ſaid he, ſeeing the ſunne)[c]
On wretched me why doſt thou ſhine,
My ſtar is falne, my comfort done,
Out is the apple of my eine;
Shine upon thoſe poſſeſſe delight,
And let me live in endleſſe night.[d]

O griefe! that lieſt upon my ſoule
As heavie as a mount of lead,
The remnant of my life controll;
Conſort me quickly with the dead:
Halfe of this hart, this ſprite, and will,
Di'de in the breſt of Aſtrophill.

And you, compaſſionate of my wo,
Gentle birds, beaſts, and ſhadie trees,
I am aſſurde ye long to kno
What be the ſorrowes me agreev's;
Liſten ye then to that inſu'th,
And heare a tale of teares and ruthe.

You knew,—who knew not Aſtrophill?
(That I ſhould live to ſay I knew,

---

[c] *O ſunne! (ſaid he, ſeeing the ſunne).*] The parentheſis in the old impreſſion only includes "ſaid he," but "ſeeing the ſunne" muſt alſo belong to it: it is no part of the man's ſpeech: this change is from the copy in 'The Phœnix Neſt," 1593. Some editors, following the folio 1611, have left out the parentheſis altogether. C.

[d] *And let me live in endleſſe night.*] Todd reprinted "in endleſſe *might*" from the 4to. 1595, which is nonſenſe; whereas in "The Phœnix Neſt," and in every other old authority, *might* is amended to "night." C.

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And have not in poſſeſſion ſtill!)
Things knowne permit me to renew
Of him: you know his merit ſuch,
I cannot ſay, you heare, too much.

Within theſe woods of Arcadie
He chiefe delight and pleaſure tooke;
And on the mountaine Parthenie,
Upon the chryſtall liquid brooke,
The Muſes met him ev'ry day,
That taught him ſing, to write, and ſay.

When he deſcended downe to the mount,
His perſonage ſeemed moſt divine,
A thouſand graces one might count,
Upon his lovely cheerfull eine;
To heare him ſpeake and ſweetly ſmile,
You were in Paradiſe the while.

A ſweet attractive kinde of grace,
A full aſſurance given by lookes,
Continuall comfort in a face,
The lineaments of Goſpell bookes,
I trowe, that countenance cannot lie
Whoſe thoughts are legible in the eie.

Was never eie did ſee that face,[e]
Was never eare did heare that tong,
Was never minde did minde his grace,
That ever thought the travell long;
But eies, and eares, and ev'ry thought,
Were with his ſweete perfections caught.

---

[e] *Was never eie did ſee that face.*] So "The Phœnix Neſt," and the folio 1611; but the 4to. 1595 reads, "Was *ever* eie," &c. There can be no doubt which is right. C.

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O God! that ſuch a worthy man,
In whom ſo rare deſarts did raigne,
Deſired thus, muſt leave us than,
And we to wiſh for him in vaine.
O! could the ſtars, that bred that wit,
In force no longer fixed ſit?

Then, being fild with learned dew,
The Muſes willed him to love:
That inſtrument can aptly ſhew,
How finely our conceits will move;
As Bacchus opes diſſembled harts,
So Love ſets out our better parts.[f]

Stella, a Nymph within this wood,
Moſt rare and rich of heavenly blis,
The higheſt in his fancie ſtood,
And ſhe could well demerite this:
Tis likely they acquainted ſoone;
He was a Sun, and ſhe a Moone.

Our Aſtrophill did Stella love:
O Stella! vaunt of Aſtrophill,
Albeit thy graces gods may move,
Where wilt thou finde an Aſtrophill?
The roſe and lillie have their prime,
And ſo hath beautie but a time.

Although thy beautie do exceed,
In common ſight of ev'ry eie,
Yet in his Poeſies when we reede,
It is apparant more thereby,

[f] *So Love ſets out our better parts.*] This couplet is quoted in "England's Parnaſſus," 1600, p. 180, where it is properly aſſigned to "M. Roydon." C.

He that hath love, and judgement too,
Sees more than any other doo.

Then, Aſtrophill hath honord thee;
For when thy bodie is extinct,
Thy graces ſhall eternall be,
And live by virtue of his inke;
For by his verſes he doth give
The ſhort livde beautie aye to live.

Above all others this is hee,
Which erſt approoved in his ſong,
That love and honor might agree,
And that pure love will do no wrong.
Sweet ſaints, it is no ſinne or blame
To love a man of vertuous name.

Did never love ſo ſweetly breath
In any mortall breſt before,
Did never Muſe inſpire beneath
A Poet's braine with finer ſtore:
He wrote of love with high conceit,
And beautie reard above her height.

Then, Pallas afterward attyrde
Our Aſtrophill with her device,
Whom in his armor heaven admyrde,
As of the nation of the ſkies;
He ſparkled in his armes afarrs
As he were dight with fierie ſtarrs.

The blaze whereof when Mars beheld,
(An envious eie doth ſee afar)
Such majeſtie (quoth he) is ſeeld,
Such majeſtie my mart may mar;

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Perhaps this may a ſuter be,
To ſet Mars by his deitie.

In this ſurmize he made with ſpeede
An iron cane, wherein he put
The thunder that in cloudes do breede;[g]
The flame and bolt togither ſhut
With privie force burſt out againe,
And ſo our Aſtrophill was ſlaine.

His word (was ſlaine!) ſtraightway did move
And natures inward life ſtrings twitch;
The ſkie immediately above
Was dimd with hideous clouds of pitch,
The wraſtling winds from out the ground
Fild all the aire with ratling ſound.

The bending trees expreſt a grone,
And ſigh'd the ſorrow of his fall;
The forreſt beaſts made ruthfull mone,
The birds did tune their mourning call,
And Philomell for Aſtrophill
Unto her notes annext a phill.

The Turtle dove with tunes of ruthe
Shewd feeling paſſion of his death;
Me thought ſhe ſaid, I tell thee truthe,
Was never he that drew in breath,
Unto his love more truſtie found,
Than he for whom our griefs abound.

The ſwan, that was in preſence heere,
Began his funerall dirge to ſing;

[g] *The thunder that in cloudes do breede.*] So the 4to. 1595 and "The Phœnix Neſt" 1593; but the folio more correctly alters "do" to *doth*. Perhaps Roydon conſidered "thunder" plural. C.

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Good things (quoth he) may ſcarce appeere,
But paſſe away with ſpeedie wing:
  This mortall life as death is tride,
  And death gives life; and ſo he di'de.

The generall ſorrow that was made,
Among the creatures of kinde,[h]
Fired the Phœnix where ſhe laide,
Her aſhes flying with the winde,
  So as I might with reaſon ſee
  That ſuch a Phœnix nere ſhould bee.

Haply the cinders, driven about,
May breede an offspring neere that kinde,
But hardly a peere to that, I doubt:
It cannot ſinke into my minde,
  That under branches ere can bee[i]
  Of worth and value as the tree.

The Egle markt with pearcing ſight
The mournfull habite of the place,
And parted thence with mounting flight,
To ſignifie to Jove the caſe,
  What ſorrow nature doth ſuſtaine,
  For Aſtrophill by envie ſlaine.

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[h] *Among the creatures of kinde.*] "Creatures" was of old a triſyllable, and ſo the poet treated it, as is apparent not only from the original edition, but from "The Phœnix Neſt," which agrees in the text; the folio 1611 added "each"—"the creatures of *each* kind;" but quite needleſsly, and we reject the word: "the creatures of kind" are the creatures of *nature*, "kind" being here, as in many other places, uſed as the ſynonyme of *nature*. C.

[i] *That under branches ere can bee.*] "The Phœnix Neſt" 1593, and the folio 1611, put a hyphen between "under" and "branches"—perhaps rightly; but it may be underſtood, and it is not found in the 4to. Variations of this deſcription are frequent, and ſeem to have been often left to the old compoſitor. C.

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And, while I followed with mine eie
The flight the Egle upward tooke,
All things did vaniſh by and by,
And diſappeared from my looke;
The trees, beaſts, birds, and grove was gone,
So was the friend that made this mone.

This ſpectacle had firmly wrought,
A deepe compaſſion in my ſpright;
My molting hart iſſude, me thought,
In ſtreames forth at mine eies aright:
And here my pen is forſt to ſhrinke,
My teares diſcollor ſo mine inke.[k]

[k] *My teares diſcollor ſo mine inke.*] The verb is in the ſingular in the editions of 1593 and 1595, but not afterwards. It was either a grammatical blunder of the compoſitor, or his ear brought the letter *ſ* from the word which followed to the word which preceded. C.

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AN EPITAPH UPON THE RIGHT

HONOURABLE SIR PHILLIP SIDNEY,

Knight; Lord governor of Flußing.[a]

TO praiſe thy life, or waile thy worthie death,
And want thy wit, thy wit high, pure, divine,
Is far beyond the powre of mortall line,
Nor any one hath worth that draweth breath.

Yet rich in zeale, though poore in learnings lore,
And friendly care obſcurde in ſecret breſt,
And love that envie in thy life ſuppreſt,
Thy deere life done, and death hath doubled more.

And I, that in thy time and living ſtate,
Did onely praiſe thy vertues in my thought,

[a] *Lord governor of Flußing.*] Such is the title in the edition of 1595, as well as in "The Phœnix Neſt," two years earlier; and no editor has ever diſcovered who was the author of verſes, which have been much diſparaged, but which would doubtleſs have been as loudly praiſed had it been known, as the fact certainly is, that they were written by Sir Walter Raleigh. We have ſtated the indiſputable evidence upon this intereſting point in our "Life of Spenſer," and it is not neceſſary to repeat it here. Like the preceding "Elegy" by Lodowick Bryſkett, Raleigh's "Epitaph," and "Another of the ſame," which follows it, firſt appeared in "The Phœnix Neſt" in 1593; and they were appended to Spenſer's "Colin Clout's come Home again" two years afterwards. This circumſtance has not been noted. C.

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As one that ſeeld the riſing ſun hath ſought,
With words and teares now waile thy timeleſſe fate.

Drawne was thy race aright from princely line,
Nor leſſe than ſuch (by gifts that nature gave,
The common mother that all creatures have)
Doth vertue ſhew, and princely linage ſhine.

A king gave thee thy name: a kingly minde
That God thee gave; who found it now too deere[b]
For this baſe world, and hath reſumde it neere,
To fit in ſkies, and ſort with powres divine.

Kent thy birth daies, and Oxford held thy youth;
The heavens made haſt, and ſtaid nor yeers, nor time:
The fruits of age grew ripe in thy firſt prime;
Thy will, thy words; thy words the ſeales of truth.

Great gifts and wiſedom rare imployd thee thence,
To treat from kings with thoſe more great than kings;
Such hope men had to lay the higheſt things
On thy wiſe youth, to be tranſported hence.

Whence to ſharpe wars ſweet honor did thee call,
Thy countries love, religion, and thy friends:
Of worthy men the marks, the lives, and ends,
And her defence, for whom we labor all.

There didſt thou vanquiſh ſhame and tedious age,
Griefe, ſorrow, ſicknes, and baſe fortunes might:
Thy riſing day ſaw never wofull night,
But paſt with praiſe from of[f] this worldly ſtage.[c]

[b] *who found it now too deere.*] The reading in "The Phœnix Neſt," 1593, ſeems preferable, viz. "who found it *was* too deare:" it is the only variation that is not merely literal. C.

[c] *from of[f] this worldly ſtage.*] In "The Phœnix Neſt," the

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Back to the campe, by thee that day was brought,
Firſt thine owne death, and after thy long fame;
Teares to the ſoldiers, the proud Caſtilians ſhame,
Vertue expreſt, and honor truly taught.

What hath he loſt that ſuch great grace hath woon?
Yoong yeeres for endles yeeres, and hope unſure
Of fortunes gifts for wealth that ſtill ſhall dure:
Oh, happie race with ſo great praiſes run!

England doth hold thy lims that bred the ſame,
Flaunders thy valure where it laſt was tried,
The Campe thy ſorrow where thy bodie died,
Thy friends thy want; the world thy vertues fame:

Nations thy wit, our mindes lay up thy love;
Letters thy learning, thy loſſe yeeres long to come:
In worthy harts ſorrow hath made thy tombe;
Thy ſoule and ſpright enrich the heavens above.

Thy liberall hart imbalmd in gratefull teares,
Yoong ſighes, ſweet ſighes, ſage ſighes, bewaile thy fall;
Envie her ſting, and Spite hath left her gall,
Malice her ſelfe a mourning garment weares.

That day their Hanniball died, our Scipio fell,
Scipio, Cicero, and Petrarch of our time!
Whoſe vertues, wounded by my wortheleſſe rime,
Let Angels ſpeake, and heaven thy praiſes tell.

---

prepoſition "of" is uſed inſtead of the adverb *off*. This, and other circumſtances, ſeem to ſhow that the copy, as it appeared in the Supplement to "Colin Clout's come Home again," was printed from that which had come out two years before. C.

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ANOTHER OF THE SAME.[d]

SILENCE augmenteth grief, writing encreaſeth rage,
Stald are my thoughts, which lov'd, and loſt, the wonder of our age,
Yet quickned now with fire, though dead with froſt ere now,
Enrag'de I write, I know not what: dead, quick, I know not how.

Hard harted mindes relent, and rigors teares abound,
And envie ſtrangely rues his end, in whom no fault ſhe found;
Knowledge her light hath loſt, valor hath ſlaine her knight;
Sidney is dead, dead is my friend, dead is the worlds delight.

Place penſive wailes his fall whoſe preſence was her pride,
Time crieth out, my ebbe is come; his life was my ſpring tide:
Fame mournes in that ſhe loſt the ground of her reports;
Ech living wight laments his lacke, and all in ſundry ſorts.

He was (wo worth that word!) to ech well thinking minde
A ſpotleſſe friend, a matchles man, whoſe vertue ever ſhinde,
Declaring in his thoughts, his life, and that he writ,
Higheſt conceits, longeſt forefights, and deepeſt works of wit.

---

[d] *Another of the ſame.*] "Excellently written by a moſt woorthy Gentleman," adds "The Phœnix Neſt;" but we have not been able to aſcertain who he might be. There are only literal variations, of no importance, between the two copies. C.

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He, onely like himſelfe, was ſecond unto none,
Whoſe deth (though life) we rue, and wrong, and al in vain do mone;
Their loſſe, not him, waile they, that fill the world with cries:
Death ſlue not him, but he made death his ladder to the ſkies.

Now ſinke of ſorrow I, who live; the more the wrong;
Who wiſhing death, whom deth denies, whoſe thred is al to long,
Who tied to wretched life, who lookes for no reliefe,
Muſt ſpend my ever dying daies in never ending griefe.

Harts eaſe and onely I, like parallels, run on,[e]
Whoſe equall length keep equall bredth, and never meet in one;
Yet for not wronging him, my thoughts, my ſorrowes cell,
Shall not run out, though leake they will, for liking him ſo well.

Farewell to you, my hopes, my wonted waking dreames;
Farewell, ſometimes enjoyed joy; eclipſed are thy beames:
Farewell ſelfe pleaſing thoughts, which quietnes brings foorth;
And farewel friendſhips ſacred league, uniting minds of woorth!

And farewell, mery hart, the gift of guiltleſſe mindes,
And all ſports which for lives reſtore varietie aſſignes;

---

[e] *like parallels, run on.*] It is "like *parables* run on" in both the old copies. We have, and ought to have no heſitation in correcting this obvious nonſenſe; but Todd preſerved it without remark, though "parallels" is the word in the folio 1611. C.

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Let all, that ſweete is, voyd; in me no mirth may dwell,
Philip, the cauſe of all this woe, my lives content, farewell!

Now rime, the ſonne of rage, which art no kin to ſkill,
And endles griefe, which deads my life, yet knowes not how to kill,
Go, ſeeke that haples tombe;[f] which if ye hap to finde,
Salute the ſtones that keep the lims that held ſo good a minde.

[f] *Go, ſeeke that haples tombe.*] So "The Phœnix Neſt," and the folio 1611; but elſewhere it is "Go *ſeekes*," &c. C.

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AMORETTI AND EPITHALAMION.

WRITTEN NOT LONG SINCE BY

EDMUNDE SPENSER.

Printed for William Ponſonby

1595.

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TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL

SIR ROBART NEEDHAM, KNIGHT.[a]

SIR, to gratulate your ſafe return from Ireland I had nothing ſo readie, nor thought any thing ſo meete, as theſe ſweete conceited Sonets, the deede of that weldeſerving gentleman, maiſter Edmond Spenſer: whoſe name ſufficiently warranting the worthineſſe of the work, I do more confidently preſume to publiſh it in his abſence, under your name, to whom (in my poore opinion) the patronage therof doth in ſome reſpectes properly appertaine. For, beſides your judgement and delighte in learned poeſie, this gentle Muſe, for her former perfection long wiſhed for in Englande, nowe at the length croſſing the Seas in your happy companye (though to your ſelfe unknowne) ſeemeth to make choyſe of you, as meeteſt to give her deſerved countenaunce after her retourne: entertaine her then (Right worſhipfull) in ſorte beſt beſeeming your gentle minde and her merite, and take in worth my good will herein, who ſeeke no more but to ſhew my ſelfe yours in all dutifull affection.

W. P.

---

[a] *Sir Robart Needham, Knight.*] It is ſingular that this Dedication, ſigned with the initials of the Publiſher, ſhould never have been printed in modern times in connection with the Sonnets to which they relate. It ſhows, at all events, that Spenſer was abſent in Ireland; and that Sir Robert Needham had himſelf come to England in the ſame ſhip that brought the poetical productions. C.

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G. W. SENIOR,[b] TO THE AUTHOR.

DARKE is the day, when Phœbus face is
ſhrowded,
And weaker ſights may wander ſoone aſtray;
But, when they ſee his glorious raies unclowded,
With ſteddy ſteps they keepe the perfect way:
So, while this Muſe in forraine landes doth ſtay,
Invention weepes, and pens are caſt aſide;
The time, like night, depriv'd of chearefull day,
And few do write, but (ah!) too ſoone may ſlide.
Then, hie thee home, that art our perfect guide,
And with thy wit illuſtrate England's fame,
Dawnting thereby our neighboures auncient pride,
That do, for poeſie, challendge cheefeſt name:
So we that live, and ages that ſucceede,
With great applauſe thy learned works ſhall reede.

---

[b] *G. W. ſenior.*] Perhaps George Whetſtone, a poetaſter and dramatic writer in the reign of Eliſabeth; for he is characterized by a contemporary writer, "as one of the moſt paſſionate amongſt us to bewail *the perplexities of love.*" Theſe "Amoretti," or "Sonnets," we may therefore ſuppoſe quite ſuited to his taſte. If this addreſs to Spenſer be written by Whetſtone, we may ſuppoſe G. W. jun., by whom the other addreſs is ſigned, to be his ſon. TODD. We have no knowledge of anything elſe written by G. W. *junior;* and it is to be obſerved that in the old impreſſions the initials are G. W. J., which laſt letter may not mean junior: the firſt commendatory Sonnet is, however, diſtinctly ſtated to be by "G. W. ſenior." In our "Life of Spenſer" we have ſhown that Whetſtone, in 1587, was ſo little acquainted with the works of our poet, as well as of Sidney, as to impute to the latter the then moſt celebrated work of the former. C.

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AH! Colin, whether on the lowly plaine,
Piping to ſhepherds thy ſweete roundelaies;
Or whether ſinging, in ſome lofty vaine,
Heroick deedes of paſt or preſent daies;
Or whether, in thy lovely miſtris praiſe,
Thou liſt to exerciſe thy learned quill;
Thy muſe hath got ſuch grace and power to pleaſe
With rare invention, bewtified by ſkill,
As who therein can ever joy their fill?
O! therefore let that happy muſe proceed
To clime the height of vertues ſacred hill,
Where endles honor ſhall be made thy meede;
Becauſe no malice of ſucceeding daies
Can raſe thoſe records of thy laſting praiſe.

G. W. J.[c]

---

[c] *G. W. J.*] Todd here boldly printed "G. W. Junr.," but without warrant from any old impreſſion: he alſo made about thirty other variations, though profeſſing to follow the orthography of the original edition. C.

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AMORETTI, &c.[d]

SONNET I.

HAPPY, ye leaves! when as thoſe lilly hands,
Which hold my life in their dead doing might,
Shall handle you, and hold in loves ſoft bands,
Lyke captives trembling at the victors ſight.
And happy lines! on which, with ſtarry light,
Thoſe lamping eyes[e] will deigne ſometimes to look,

---

[d] *Amoretti*, &c.] Where theſe little pieces were written does not appear: probably in Ireland. G. W. ſenior, in his preliminary Sonnet, urges the author to "hie home," and "with his wit illuſtrate England's fame." If, therefore, Spenſer's travels did not extend beyond Ireland, G. W. muſt allude to his reſidence in this [that] country, which he calls "forraine land," at the time the Sonnets were written. From the 80th Sonnet, they would ſeem to have been the relaxation of his muſe after "a long race thro' Fairy land." Entangled in the web of allegory, or weary of "ſo long a race," he probably only wrote a few cantos of the 7th and 8th books, and then ſuſpended the work; which the political diſtractions, that drove him out of Ireland, prevented him from ever reſuming. So that it may be preſumed "the deep" is unjuſtly accuſed of having "ſwallowed" what was never written. J. C. WALKER. We have conſidered this point in our "Life of Spenſer." The Sonnets were certainly ſent over from Ireland, but many of them had been, no doubt, compoſed in England. C.

[e] *Thoſe lamping eyes.*] *Shining eyes.* See F. Q. iii. iii. 1 [vol. ii. p. 382]. TODD. Drummond has the ſame epithet applied to eyes. C.

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And reade the ſorrowes of my dying ſpright,
Written with teares in harts cloſe bleeding book.
And happy rymes! bath'd in the ſacred brooke
Of Helicon, whence ſhe derived is,
When ye behold that Angels bleſſed looke,
My ſoules long lacked food, my heavens blis,
Leaves, lines, and rymes, ſeeke her to pleaſe alone,
Whom if ye pleaſe, I care for other none.

SONNET II.

UNQUIET thought! whom at the firſt I bred
Of th' inward bale of my love pined hart;
And ſithens have with ſighes and ſorrowes fed,
Till greater then my wombe thou woxen art;
Breake forth at length out of the inner part,
In which thou lurkeſt lyke to vipers brood,
And ſeeke ſome ſuccour both to eaſe my ſmart,
And alſo to ſuſtayne thy ſelfe with food.
But if in preſence of that fayreſt proud
Thou chance to come, fall lowly at her feet,
And, with meek humbleſſe and afflicted mood,
Pardon for thee, and grace for me, intreat;
Which if ſhe graunt, then live, and my love cheriſh:
If not, die ſoone; and I with thee will periſh.

SONNET III.

THE ſoverayne beauty which I doo admyre,
Witneſſe the world how worthy to be prayzed!
The light wherof hath kindled heavenly fyre
In my fraile ſpirit, by her from baſeneſſe rayſed;
That being now with her huge brightneſſe dazed,
Baſe thing I can no more endure to view,
But, looking ſtill on her, I ſtand amazed

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At wondrous ſight of ſo celeſtiall hew.
So when my toung would ſpeak her praiſes dew,
It ſtopped is with thoughts aſtoniſhment;
And when my pen would write her titles true,
It raviſht is with fancies wonderment:
Yet in my hart I then both ſpeake and write
The wonder that my wit cannot endite.

SONNET IV.

NEW yeare, forth looking out of Janus gate,[f]
Doth ſeeme to promiſe hope of new delight;
And, bidding th' old Adieu, his paſſed date
Bids all old thoughts to die in dumpiſh ſpright:[g]
And calling forth out of ſad Winters night
Freſh Love, that long hath ſlept in cheerleſſe bower,
Wils him awake, and ſoone about him dight
His wanton wings and darts of deadly power.
For luſty Spring, now in his timely howre,
Is ready to come forth, him to receive;
And warnes the Earth with divers colord flowre
To decke hir ſelfe, and her faire mantle weave.
Then you, faire flowre, in whom freſh youth doth raine,
Prepare your ſelfe new love to entertaine.

SONNET V.

RUDELY thou wrongeſt my deare harts deſire,
In finding fault with her too portly pride:

---

[f] *New yeare, forth looking out of Janus gate.*] This Sonnet ſhows that Spenſer calculated by the hiſtorical year, commencing on the 1ſt of January. This point is to be noted in reference to ſeveral queſtions of date which have ariſen in our poet's biography. C.

[g] *to die in dumpiſh ſpright.*] In a *melancholy* mood. We have had the ſame epithet in vol. iii. p. 106. The ſubſtantive *dump* was ſometimes uſed for a ſad or funereal poem, as well as for a ſolemn piece of muſic: we now uſually apply it to a ſtate of mind. C.

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The thing which I doo moſt in her admire,
Is of the world unworthy moſt envide;
For in thoſe lofty lookes is cloſe implide
Scorn of baſe things, and ſdeigne of foul diſhonor;
Thretning raſh eies which gaze on her ſo wide,
That looſely they ne dare to looke upon her.
Such pride is praiſe, ſuch portlineſſe is honor,
That boldned innocence beares in hir eies;
And her faire countenance, like a goodly banner,
Spreds in defiaunce of all enemies.
Was never in this world ought worthy tride,
Without ſome ſpark of ſuch ſelf-pleaſing pride.

SONNET VI.

BE nought diſmayd that her unmoved mind
Doth ſtill perſiſt in her rebellious pride:
Such love, not lyke to luſts of baſer kynd,
The harder wonne, the firmer will abide.
The durefull Oake, whoſe ſap is not yet dride,
Is long ere it conceive the kindling fyre;
But, when it once doth burne, it doth divide
Great heat, and makes his flames to heaven aſpire.
So hard it is to kindle new deſire
In gentle breſt, that ſhall endure for ever:
Deepe is the wound, that dints the parts entire[h]
With chaſte affects, that naught but death can ſever.
Then thinke not long in taking litle paine
To knit the knot, that ever ſhall remaine.

---

[h] *that dints the parts entire.*] Here, as in vol. iii. pp. 218, 419, "entire" is uſed for *interior* or *inward*. Spenſer, however, alſo employs it for *complete, undivided*, &c. C.

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Sonnet VII.

FAYRE eyes, the myrrour of my mazed hart,
What wondrous vertue is contayn'd in you,
The which both lyfe and death forth from you dart
Into the object of your mighty view!
For, when ye mildly looke with lovely hew,
Then is my ſoule with life and love inſpired;
But when ye lowre, or looke on me aſkew,
Then doe I die, as one with lightning fyred.
But, ſince that lyfe is more then death deſyred,
Looke ever lovely, as becomes you beſt;
That your bright beams, of my weak eies admyred,
May kindle living fire[1] within my breſt.
Such life ſhould be the honor of your light,
Such death the ſad enſample of your might.

Sonnet VIII.

MORE then moſt faire, full of the living fire
Kindled above unto the Maker neere;
No eies but joyes, in which al powers conſpire,
That to the world naught elſe be counted deare!
Thrugh your bright beams doth not the blinded gueſt
Shoot out his darts to baſe affections wound;
But Angels come to lead fraile mindes to reſt
In chaſt deſires, on heavenly beauty bound.
You frame my thoughts, and faſhion me within;
You ſtop my toung, and teach my hart to ſpeake;
You calme the ſtorme that paſſion did begin,
Strong thrugh your cauſe, but by your vertue weak.
Dark is the world where your light ſhined never;
Well is he borne that may behold you ever.

---

[1] *May kindle living fire.*] Todd made nonſenſe of this line by printing "kindle" *kindly*, for which he could have no authority. C.

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Sonnet IX.

LONG-WHILE I ſought to what I might compare
Thoſe powrefull eies, which lighten my dark ſpright;
Yet find I nought on earth to which I dare
Reſemble th' ymage of their goodly light.
Not to the Sun, for they doo ſhine by night;
Nor to the Moone, for they are changed never;
Nor to the Starres, for they have purer ſight;
Nor to the Fire, for they conſume not ever;
Nor to the Lightning, for they ſtill perſever;
Nor to the Diamond, for they are more tender;
Nor unto Chriſtall, for nought may them ſever;
Nor unto Glaſſe, ſuch baſeneſſe mought offend her:
Then to the Maker ſelfe they likeſt be,
Whoſe light doth lighten all that here we ſee.

Sonnet X.

UNRIGHTEOUS Lord of love, what law is this,
That me thou makeſt thus tormented be,
The whiles ſhe lordeth in licentious bliſſe
Of her freewill, ſcorning both thee and me?
See! how the Tyranneſſe doth joy to ſee
The huge maſſacres which her eyes do make,
And humbled harts brings captives unto thee,
That thou of them mayſt mightie vengeance take.
But her proud hart doe thou a little ſhake,
And that high look, with which ſhe doth comptroll
All this worlds pride, bow to a baſer make,[1]
And al her faults in thy black booke enroll:

[1] *bow to a baſer make.*] Poets, as before obſerved, vol. iii. p. 192, uſed "make" and *mate* almoſt indifferently, being frequently governed merely by the rhyme. C.

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That I may laugh at her, in equall ſort
As ſhe doth laugh at me, and makes my pain her ſport.

SONNET XI.

DAYLY when I do ſeeke and ſew for peace,
And hoſtages doe offer for my truth,
She, cruell warriour, doth her ſelfe addreſſe
To battell, and the weary war renew'th;
Ne wilbe moov'd with reaſon, or with rewth,
To graunt ſmall reſpit to my reſtleſſe toile,
But greedily her fell intent pourſewth,
Of my poore life to make unpittied ſpoile.
Yet my poore life, all ſorrowes to aſſoyle,[k]
I would her yield, her wrath to pacify:
But then ſhe ſeekes, with torment and turmoyle,
To force me live, and will not let me dy.
All paine hath end, and every war hath peace;
But mine no price nor prayer may ſurceaſe.

SONNET XII.

ONE day I ſought with her hart-thrilling eies[l]
To make a truce, and termes to entertaine;
All fearleſſe then of ſo falſe enimies,
Which ſought me to entrap in treaſons traine.
So, as I then diſarmed did remaine,
A wicked ambuſh which lay hidden long,
In the cloſe covert of her guilfull eyen,

---

[k] *all ſorrowes to aſſoyle.*] "Aſſoil" is a very common word, with Spenſer in particular: it ordinarily means *abſolve*, and here to *do away* or *remove:* ſee vol. iii. p. 194, and many other places. C.

[l] *with her hart-thrilling eies.*] i. e. heart-*piercing*, literally *drilling*, eyes: in Sonnet xxxvi. Spenſer again ſpeaks of "her thrilling eyes." In the F. Q. he uſes "thrilld" and "thrillant:" ſee vol. ii. p. 54, and the note on the ſame word, p. 157. C.

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Thence breaking forth, did thick about me throng.
Too feeble I t' abide the brunt ſo ſtrong,
Was forſt to yeeld my ſelfe into their hands;
Who me captiving ſtreight with rigorous wrong,
Have ever ſince kept me in cruell bands.
So, Ladie, now to you I doo complaine,
Againſt your eies, that juſtice I may gaine.

SONNET XIII.

IN that proud port,[m] which her ſo goodly graceth,
Whiles her faire face ſhe reares up to the ſkie,
And to the ground her eie-lids low embaſeth,
Moſt goodly temperature ye may deſcry,
Myld humbleſſe, mixt with awfull majeſtie;
For, looking on the earth, whence ſhe was borne,
Her minde remembreth her mortalitie,
Whatſo is fayreſt ſhall to earth returne:
But that ſame lofty countenance ſeemes to ſcorne
Baſe thing, and thinke how ſhe to heaven may clime;
Treading downe earth as lothſome and forlorne,
That hinders heavenly thoughts with droſſy ſlime.
Yet lowly ſtill vouchſafe to looke on me;
Such lowlineſſe ſhall make you lofty be.

SONNET XIV.

RETOURNE agayne, my forces late diſmayd,
Unto the ſiege by you abandon'd quite.
Great ſhame it is to leave, like one afrayd,
So fayre a peece,[n] for one repulſe ſo light.

---

[m] *In that proud port.*] This Sonnet would ſeem properly to follow that numbered v.: it is a continuation of the ſame ſubject and point. C.

[n] *So fayre a peece.*] "Piece" conſtantly means a caſtle or fortreſs in Spenſer: ſee vol. iii. p. 328, &c. C.

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'Gaynſt ſuch ſtrong caſtles needeth greater might
Then thoſe ſmall forts which ye were wont belay:°
Such haughty mynds, enur'd to hardy fight,
Diſdayne to yield unto the firſt aſſay.
Bring therefore all the forces that ye may,
And lay inceſſant battery to her heart;
Playnts, prayers, vowes, ruth, ſorrow, and diſmay:
Thoſe engins can the proudeſt love convert;
And, if thoſe fayle, fall down and dy before her;
So dying live, and living do adore her.

SONNET XV.

YE tradefull Merchants, that with weary toyle
Do ſeeke moſt pretious things to make your gain,
And both the Indias of their treaſure ſpoile,
What needeth you to ſeeke ſo farre in vaine?
For loe! my Love doth in her ſelfe containe
All this worlds riches that may farre be found:
If Saphyres, loe! her eies be Saphyres plaine;
If Rubies, loe! hir lips be Rubies ſound;
If Pearles, hir teeth be pearles, both pure and round;
If Yvorie, her forhead yvory weene;
If Gold, her locks are fineſt gold on ground;
If Silver, her faire hands are ſilver ſheene:
But that which faireſt is but few behold,
Her mind, adornd with vertues manifold.

° *which ye were wont belay.*] *To place in ambuſh,* ſays Dr. Johnſon; but it means, I conceive, *to attack.* Dr. Johnſon was miſled by the editions which read—

"Than thoſe ſmall *forces*, &c." TODD.

"Belay" has the ſame ſenſe, and the ſame etymology as *beleaguer.* C.

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Sonnet XVI.

ONE day as I unwarily did gaze
On thoſe fayre eyes, my loves immortall light,
The whiles my ſtoniſht hart ſtood in amaze
Through ſweet illuſion of her lookes delight,
I mote perceive how, in her glauncing ſight
Legions of Loves with little wings did fly;
Darting their deadly arrowes, fyry bright,
At every raſh beholder paſſing by.
One of thoſe archers cloſely I did ſpy,
Ayming his arrow at my very hart;
When ſuddenly, with twincle of her eye,
The Damzell broke his miſintended dart.
Had ſhe not ſo doon, ſure I had bene ſlayne;
Yet, as it was, I hardly ſcap't with paine.

Sonnet XVII.

THE glorious pourtraict of that Angels face,
Made to amaze weake mens confuſed ſkil,
And this worlds worthleſſe glory to embaſe,
What pen, what pencill, can expreſſe her fill?
For though he colours could devize at will,
And eke his learned hand at pleaſure guide,
Leaſt, trembling, it his workmanſhip ſhould ſpill,
Yet many wondrous things there are beſide:
The ſweet eye-glaunces, that like arrowes glide;
The charming ſmiles, that rob ſence from the hart;
The lovely pleaſance, and the lofty pride,
Cannot expreſſed be by any art.
A greater crafteſmans hand thereto doth neede,
That can expreſſe the life of things indeed.

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Sonnet XVIII.

THE rolling wheele, that runneth often round,
The hardeſt ſteele in tract of time doth teare;
And drizling drops, that often doe redound,
The firmeſt flint doth in continuance weare:
Yet cannot I, with many a dropping teare[p]
And long intreaty, ſoften her hard hart;
That ſhe will once vouchſafe my plaint to heare,
Or looke with pitty on my payneful ſmart.
But when I pleade, ſhe bids me play my part;
And when I weep, ſhe ſayes, teares are but water;
And when I ſigh, ſhe ſayes, I know the art;
And when I waile, ſhe turnes hir ſelfe to laughter.
So doe I weepe, and wayle, and pleade in vaine,
Whiles ſhe as ſteele and flint doth ſtill remayne.

Sonnet XIX.

THE merry Cuckow, meſſenger of Spring,
His trompet ſhrill hath thriſe already ſounded,
That warnes al lovers wayt upon their king,
Who now is comming forth with girland crouned:
With noyſe whereof the quyre of Byrds reſounded
Their anthemes ſweet, devized of loves prayſe,
That all the woods theyr ecchoes back rebounded,
As if they knew the meaning of their layes.
But mongſt them all, which did Loves honor rayſe,
No word was heard of her that moſt it ought;
But ſhe his precept proudly diſobayes,
And doth his ydle meſſage ſet at nought.
Therefore, O Love! unleſſe ſhe turne to thee
Ere Cuckow end, let her a rebell be.

---

[p] *with many a dropping teare.*] Todd miſprinted "dropping" *drooping*, but he has not been followed in this error. C.

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Sonnet XX.

IN vaine I ſeeke and ſew to her for grace,
And doe myne humbled heart before her poure;
The whiles her foote ſhe in my necke doth place,
And tread my life downe in the lowly floure.
And yet the Lyon that is lord of power,
And reigneth over every beaſt in field,
In his moſt pride diſdeigneth to devoure
The ſilly lambe that to his might doth yield.
But ſhe, more cruell, and more ſalvage wylde,
Than either Lyon, or the Lyoneſſe;
Shames not to be with guiltleſſe bloud defylde,
But taketh glory in her cruelneſſe.
Fayrer then fayreſt! let none ever ſay,
That ye were blooded in a yeelded pray.

Sonnet XXI.

WAS it the worke of Nature or of Art,
Which tempred ſo the feature of her face,
That pride and meekneſſe, mixt by equall part,
Doe both appeare t' adorne her beauties grace?
For with mild pleaſance, which doth pride diſplace,
She to her loves doth lookers eyes allure;
And with ſterne countenance back again doth chace
Their looſer lookes that ſtir up luſtes impure.
With ſuch ſtrange termes her eyes ſhe doth inure,
That with one looke ſhe doth my life diſmay,
And with another doth it ſtreight recure;
Her ſmile me drawes; her frowne me drives away.
Thus doth ſhe traine and teach me with her lookes:
Such art of eyes I never read in bookes.

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Sonnet XXII.

THIS holy ſeaſon, fit to faſt and pray,
Men to devotion ought to be inclynd:
Therefore, I lykewiſe, on ſo holy day,
For my ſweet Saynt ſome ſervice fit will find.
Her temple fayre is built within my mind,
In which her glorious ymage placed is;
On which my thoughts doo day and night attend,
Lyke ſacred prieſts that never thinke amiſſe:
There I to her, as th' author of my bliſſe,
Will builde an altar to appeaſe her yre;
And on the ſame my hart will ſacrifiſe,
Burning in flames of pure and chaſt deſyre:
The which vouchſafe, O goddeſſe! to accept,
Amongſt thy deereſt relicks to be kept.

Sonnet XXIII.

PENELOPE, for her Uliſſes ſake,
Deviz'd a Web her wooers to deceave;
In which the worke that ſhe all day did make,
The ſame at night ſhe did againe unreave:
Such ſubtile craft my Damzell doth conceave,
Th' importune ſuit of my deſire to ſhonne;
For all that I in many dayes doo weave,
In one ſhort houre I find by her undonne.
So, when I thinke to end that I begonne,
I muſt begin and never bring to end:
For, with one looke, ſhe ſpils that long I ſponne;
And with one word my whole years work doth rend.
Such labour like the Spyders web I fynd,
Whoſe fruitleſſe worke is broken with leaſt wynd.

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Sonnet XXIV.

WHEN I behold that beauties wonderment,
And rare perfection of each goodly part,
Of nature's ſkill the onely complement,
I honor and admire the Makers art:
But when I feele the bitter balefull ſmart,
Which her fayre eyes unwares doe worke in mee,
That death out of theyr ſhiny beames doe dart,
I thinke that I a new Pandora ſee,
Whom all the Gods in councell did agree
Into this ſinfull world from heaven to ſend;
That ſhe to wicked men a ſcourge ſhould bee,
For all their faults with which they did offend.
But, ſince ye are my ſcourge, I will intreat
That for my faults ye will me gently beat.

Sonnet XXV.

HOW long ſhall this lyke dying lyfe endure,
And know no end of her owne myſery,
But waſt and weare away in termes unſure,
'Twixt feare and hope depending doubtfully?
Yet better were attonce to let me die,
And ſhew the laſt enſample of your pride,
Then to torment me thus with cruelty
To prove your powre, which I too wel have tride:
But yet if in your hardned breſt ye hide
A cloſe intent at laſt to ſhew me grace,
Then all the woes and wrecks which I abide,
As meanes of bliſſe I gladly wil embrace;
And wiſh that more and greater they might be,
That greater meede at laſt may turne to mee.

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Sonnet XXVI.

SWEET is the Roſe, but growes upon a brere;
Sweet is the Junipre, but ſharpe his bough;
Sweet is the Eglantine, but pricketh nere;
Sweet is the Firbloome, but his braunches rough;
Sweet is the Cypreſſe, but his rynd is tough;[q]
Sweet is the Nut, but bitter is his pill;
Sweet is the Broome-flowre, but yet ſowre enough;
And ſweet is Moly, but his root is ill.
So every ſweet with ſoure is tempred ſtill,
That maketh it be coveted the more;
For eaſie things, that may be got at will,
Moſt ſorts of men doe ſet but little ſtore:
Why then ſhould I accoumpt of little paine,
That endleſſe pleaſure ſhall unto me gaine!

Sonnet XXVII.

FAIRE proud! now tell me, why ſhould faire be proud,
Sith all worlds glorie is but droſſe uncleane,
And in the ſhade of death it ſelfe ſhall ſhroud,
However now thereof ye little weene?
That goodly Idoll, now ſo gay beſeene,
Shall doffe her fleſhes borowd fayre attyre,
And be forgot as it had never beene,
That many now much worſhip and admire:
Ne any then ſhall after it inquire,
Ne any mention ſhall thereof remaine,
But what this verſe, that never ſhall expyre,
Shall to you purchas with her thankles pain.

[q] *but his rynd is tough.*] By a miſprint Todd made the rind of the cypreſs *rough*, as well as the branches of the firbloom: our text is that of all the old impreſſions. C.

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Faire! be no lenger proud of that ſhall periſh;
But that, which ſhal you make immortall, cheriſh.

Sonnet XXVIII.

THE laurell leafe, which you this day doe weare,
Gives me great hope of your relenting mynd;
For ſince it is the badge which I doe beare,
Ye, bearing it, doe ſeeme to me inclind:
The powre thereof, which ofte in me I find,
Let it lykewiſe your gentle breſt inſpire
With ſweet infuſion, and put you in mind
Of that proud mayd, whom now thoſe leaves attyre:
Proud Daphne, ſcorning Phœbus lovely fyre,
On the Theſſalian ſhore from him did flie;
For which the gods, in theyr revengefull yre,
Did her transforme into a laurell tree.
Then fly no more, fayre love, from Phebus chace,
But in your breſt his leafe and love embrace.

Sonnet XXIX.

SEE! how the ſtubborne damzell doth deprave
My ſimple meaning with diſdaynfull ſcorne;
And by the bay, which I unto her gave,
Accoumpts my ſelfe her captive quite forlorne.
The bay, (quoth ſhe) is of the victours born,
Yielded them by the vanquiſht as theyr meeds,
And they therewith doe poetes heads adorne,
To ſing the glory of their famous deeds.
But ſith ſhe will the conqueſt challeng needs,
Let her accept me as her faithfull thrall;
That her great triumph, which my ſkill exceeds,
I may in trump of fame blaze over all:
Then would I decke her head with glorious bayes,
And fill the world with her victorious prayſe.

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Sonnet XXX.

MY love is lyke to yſe, and I to fyre:
How comes it then that this her cold ſo great
Is not diſſolv'd through my ſo hot deſyre,
But harder growes the more I her intreat?
Or how comes it that my exceeding heat
Is not delayd by her hart froſen cold;
But that I burne much more in boyling ſweat,
And feele my flames augmented manifold?
What more miraculous thing may be told,
That fire, which all thing melts, ſhould harden yſe;
And yſe, which is congeald with ſenceleſſe cold,
Should kindle fyre by wonderful devyſe!
Such is the powre of love in gentle mind,
That it can alter all the courſe of kynd.

Sonnet XXXI.

AH! why hath Nature to ſo hard a hart
Given ſo goodly giftes of beauties grace,
Whoſe pryde depraves each other better part,
And all thoſe pretious ornaments deface?
Sith to all other beaſtes, of bloody race,
A dreadfull countenance ſhe given hath;
That with theyr terrour al the reſt may chace,
And warne to ſhun the daunger of theyr wrath.
But my proud one doth worke the greater ſcath,
Through ſweet allurement of her lovely hew;
That ſhe the better may, in bloody bath
Of ſuch poore thralls, her cruell hands embrew.
But, did ſhe know how ill theſe two accord,
Such cruëlty ſhe would have ſoone abhord.

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Sonnet XXXII.

THE paynefull ſmith with force of fervent heat
The hardeſt yron ſoone doth mollify;
That with his heavy ſledge he can it beat,
And faſhion to what he it liſt apply.
Yet cannot all theſe flames, in which I fry,
Her hart, more harde then yron, ſoft awhit;
Ne all the playnts and prayers, with which I
Doe beat on th' andvyle of her ſtubberne wit:
But ſtill, the more ſhe fervent ſees my fit,
The more ſhe frieſeth in her wilfull pryde;
And harder growes the harder ſhe is ſmit
With all the playnts which to her be applyde.
What then remaines but I to aſhes burne,
And ſhe to ſtones at length all froſen turne?

Sonnet XXXIII.

GREAT wrong I doe, I can it not deny,
To that moſt ſacred Empreſſe, my dear dred,
Not finiſhing her Queene of faëry,[r]
That mote enlarge her living prayſes, dead:
But, Lodwick, this of grace to me aread;
Doe ye not thinck th' accompliſhment of it,
Sufficient worke for one mans ſimple head,
All were it, as the reſt, but rudely writ?
How then ſhould I, without another wit,
Thinck ever to endure ſo tædious toyle;
Sins that this one is toſt with troublous fit
Of a proud love, that doth my ſpirite ſpoyle?

[r] *Not finiſhing her Queene of faëry.*] This is the Sonnet alluded to on page 91, in which Lodowick Bryſket (here called only Lodwick) is addreſſed on the ſubject of the unfiniſhed "Faerie Queene." In the 11th line, in the oldeſt edition, the firſt word is "Sins," i. e. *ſince;* but it was ſubſequently altered to *Sith*, and ſo Todd reprinted it. C.

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Ceaſe then, till ſhe vouchſafe to grawnt me reſt;
Or lend you me another living breſt.

Sonnet XXXIV.

LYKE as a ſhip, that through the Ocean wyde
By conduct of ſome ſtar doth make her way,
Whenas a ſtorm hath dimd her truſty guyde,
Out of her courſe doth wander far aſtray.
So I, whoſe ſtar, that wont with her bright ray
Me to direct, with cloudes is over-caſt,
Doe wander now, in darkneſſe and diſmay,
Through hidden perils round about me plaſt:
Yet hope I well that, when this ſtorme is paſt,
My Helice, the lodeſtar of my lyfe,
Will ſhine again, and looke on me at laſt,
With lovely light to cleare my cloudy grief.
Till then I wander carefull, comfortleſſe,
In ſecret ſorrow, and ſad penſiveneſſe.

Sonnet XXXV.

MY hungry eyes, through greedy covetize
Still to behold the object of their paine,
With no contentment can themſelves ſuffize,
But, having, pine; and, having not, complaine:
For, lacking it, they cannot lyfe ſuſtayne;
And, having it, they gaze on it the more;
In their amazement lyke Narciſſus vaine,
Whoſe eyes him ſtarv'd: ſo plenty makes me poore.
Yet are mine eyes ſo filled with the ſtore
Of that faire ſight, that nothing elſe they brooke,
But lothe the things which they did like before,
And can no more endure on them to looke.
All this worlds glory ſeemeth vayne to me,
And all their ſhowes but ſhadowes, ſaving ſhe.

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Sonnet XXXVI.

TELL me, when ſhall theſe wearie woes have end,
Or ſhall their ruthleſſe torment never ceaſe,
But al my days in pining languor ſpend,
Without hope of aſſwagement or releaſe?
Is there no meanes for me to purchace peace,
Or make agreement with her thrilling eyes,
But that their cruelty doth ſtill increace,
And dayly more augment my miſeryes?
But when ye have ſhewed all extremityes,
Then thinke how litle glory ye have gayned
By ſlaying him, whoſe lyfe, though ye deſpyſe,
Mote have your lyfe in honor long maintayned:
But by his death, which ſome perhaps will mone,
Ye ſhall condemned be of many a one.

Sonnet XXXVII.

WHAT guyle is this, that thoſe her golden treſſes
She doth attyre under a net of gold;
And with ſly ſkill ſo cunningly them dreſſes,
That which is gold or haire may ſcarſe be told?
Is it that mens frayle eyes, which gaze too bold,
She may entangle in that golden ſnare;
And, being caught, may craftily enfold
Theyr weaker harts, which are not wel aware?
Take heed therefore, myne eyes, how ye doe ſtare
Henceforth too raſhly on that guilefull net,
In which if ever ye entrapped are,
Out of her bands ye by no meanes ſhall get.
Fondneſſe it were for any, being free,
To covet fetters, though they golden bee!

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Sonnet XXXVIII.

ARION, when through tempeſts cruel wracke
He forth was thrown into the greedy ſeas,
Through the ſweet muſick, which his harp did make,
Allur'd a Dolphin him from death to eaſe.
But my rude muſick, which was wont to pleaſe
Some dainty eares, cannot, with any ſkill,
The dreadfull tempeſt of her wrath appeaſe,
Nor move the Dolphin from her ſtubborne will;
But in her pride ſhe dooth perſever ſtill,
All careleſſe how my life for her decayſe:
Yet with one word ſhe can it ſave or ſpill.
To ſpill were pitty, but to ſave were prayſe!
Chuſe rather to be prayſd for dooing good,
Then to be blam'd for ſpilling guiltleſſe blood.

Sonnet XXXIX.

SWEET ſmile! the daughter of the Queene of love,
Expreſſing all thy mothers powrefull art,
With which ſhe wonts to temper angry Jove,
When all the gods he threats with thundring dart,
Sweet is thy vertue, as thy ſelfe ſweet art:
For when on me thou ſhinedſt late in ſadneſſe,
A melting pleaſance ran through every part,
And me revived with hart robbing gladneſſe.
Whyleſt rapt with joy, reſembling heavenly madnes,
My ſoule was raviſht quite, as in a traunce;
And feeling thence no more her ſorowes ſadneſſe,
Fed on the fulneſſe of that chearefull glaunce,
More ſweet than Nectar, or Ambroſiall meat,
Seem'd every bit which thenceforth I did eat.

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Sonnet XL.

MARK when ſhe ſmiles with amiable cheare,
And tell me whereto can ye lyken it;
When on each eyelid ſweetly doe appeare
An hundred Graces as in ſhade to ſit.[a]
Lykeſt it ſeemeth, in my ſimple wit,
Unto the fayre ſunſhine in ſomers day;
That, when a dreadfull ſtorme away is flit,
Thrugh the broad world doth ſpred his goodly ray:
At ſight whereof, each bird that ſits on ſpray,
And every beaſt that to his den was fled,
Comes forth afreſh out of their late diſmay,
And to the light lift up their drouping hed.
So my ſtorme beaten hart likewiſe is cheared
With that ſunſhine, when cloudy looks are cleared.

Sonnet XLI.

IS it her nature, or is it her will,
To be ſo cruell to an humbled foe?
If nature; then ſhe may it mend with ſkill:
If will; then ſhe at will may will forgoe.
But if her nature and her wil be ſo,
That ſhe will plague the man that loves her moſt,
And take delight t' encreaſe a wretches woe,
Then all her natures goodly guifts are loſt;
And that ſame glorious beauties ydle boaſt
Is but a bayt ſuch wretches to beguile,
As, being long in her loves tempeſt toſt,
She meanes at laſt to make her piteous ſpoyle.
O fayreſt fayre! let never it be named,
That ſo fayre beauty was ſo fowly ſhamed.

---

[a] *When on each eyelid ſweetly doe appeare*
An hundred Graces as in ſhade to ſit.] See my note on F. Q. ii. iii. 25 [vol. ii. p. 133]. T. Warton.

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Sonnet XLII.

THE love, which me ſo cruelly tormenteth,
So pleaſing is in my extreameſt paine,
That, all the more my ſorrow it augmenteth,
The more I love and doe embrace my bane;
Ne do I wiſh (for wiſhing were but vaine)
To be acquit fro my continuall ſmart,
But joy her thrall for ever to remayne,
And yield for pledge my poore captyved hart:[t]
The which, that it from her may never ſtart,
Let her, yf pleaſe her, bynd with adamant chayne;
And from all wandring loves, which mote pervart
His ſafe aſſurance, ſtrongly it reſtrayne.
Onely let her abſtaine from cruelty,
And doe me not before my time to dy.

Sonnet XLIII.

SHALL I then ſilent be, or ſhall I ſpeake?
And if I ſpeake, her wrath renew I ſhall;
And if I ſilent be, my hart will breake,
Or choked be with overflowing gall.
What tyranny is this, both my hart to thrall,
And eke my toung with proud reſtraint to tie;
That neither I may ſpeake nor thinke at all,
But like a ſtupid ſtock in ſilence die!
Yet I my hart with ſilence ſecretly
Will teach to ſpeak, and my juſt cauſe to plead;

---

[t] *And yield for pledge my poore captyved hart.*] So the line ſtands in every old copy, "captyved" being, of courſe, to be read as three ſyllables. Todd, apparently not ſeeing this, interpolated *and*—"my poor *and* captyved hart;" thereby rendering the meaſure redundant, unleſs "captyved," as Todd printed it, be read *captyv'd:* he gave no notice of his change, much for the worſe. C.

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And eke mine eies, with meeke humility,
Love learned letters to her eyes to read;
Which her deep wit, that true harts thought can ſpel,
Wil ſoon conceive, and learne to conſtrue well.

SONNET XLIV.

WHEN thoſe renoumed noble Peres of Greece,[u]
Through ſtubborn pride among themſelves did jar,
Forgetfull of the famous golden fleece,
Then Orpheus with his harp theyr ſtrife did bar;
But this continuall, cruell, civill warre,
The which my ſelfe againſt my ſelfe doe make,
Whileſt my weak powres of paſſions warreid arre,
No ſkill can ſtint, nor reaſon can aſlake:
But, when in hand my tuneleſſe harp I take,
Then doe I more augment my foes deſpight,
And griefe renew, and paſſions doe awake
To battaile, freſh againſt my ſelfe to fight:
Mongſt whome the more I ſeeke to ſettle peace,
The more I fynd their malice to increace.

SONNET XLV.

LEAVE, Lady, in your glaſſe of chriſtall clene
Your goodly ſelfe for evermore to vew,
And in my ſelfe, my inward ſelfe, I meane,
Moſt lively lyke behold your ſemblant trew.
Within my hart, though hardly it can ſhew
Thing ſo divine to vew of earthly eye,
The fayre Idea of your celeſtiall hew
And every part remaines immortally:

---

[u] *When thoſe renoumed noble Peres of Greece*, &c.] He makes the ſame alluſion to Apollonius Rhodius, Arg. i. 495, &c. in F. Q. iv. ii. 1 [vol. iii. p. 104]. T. WARTON.

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And were it not that, through your cruelty,
With ſorrow dimmed and deformd it were,
The goodly ymage of your viſnomy,
Clearer than chriſtall, would therein appere.
But if your ſelfe in me ye playne will ſee,
Remove the cauſe by which your fayre beames darkned be.

Sonnet XLVI.

WHEN my abodes prefixed time is ſpent,
My cruell fayre ſtreight bids me wend my way;
But then from heaven moſt hideous ſtormes are ſent,
As willing me againſt her will to ſtay.
Whom then ſhall I, or heaven or her, obay?
The heavens know beſt what is the beſt for me;
But as ſhe will, whoſe will my life doth ſway,
My lower heaven, ſo it perforce muſt bee.
But, ye high hevens, that all this ſorowe ſee,
Sith all your tempeſts cannot hold me backe,
Aſwage your ſtorms; or elſe both you, and ſhe,
Will both together me too ſorely wrack.
Enough it is for one man to ſuſtaine
The ſtormes, which ſhe alone on me doth raine.

Sonnet XLVII.

TRUST not the treaſon of thoſe ſmyling lookes,
Untill ye have theyr guylefull traynes well tryde;
For they are lyke but unto golden hookes,
That from the fooliſh fiſh theyr bayts do hyde:
So ſhe with flattring ſmyles weake harts doth guyde
Unto her love, and tempte to theyr decay;
Whome, being caught, ſhe kills with cruell pryde
And feeds at pleaſure on the wretched pray.

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Yet even whylſt her bloody hands them ſlay,
Her eyes looke lovely, and upon them ſmyle;
That they take pleaſure in their cruell play,
And, dying, doe them ſelves of payne beguyle.
O mighty charm! which makes men love theyr bane,
And thinck they dy with pleaſure, live with payne.

SONNET XLVIII.

INNOCENT paper! whom too cruell hand
Did make the matter to avenge her yre,
And ere ſhe could thy cauſe wel underſtand,
Did ſacrifize unto the greedy fyre,
Well worthy thou to have found better hyre,
Then ſo bad end for hereticks ordayned:
Yet hereſy nor treaſon didſt conſpire,
But plead thy maiſters cauſe, unjuſtly payned;
Whom ſhe, all careleſſe of his grief, conſtrayned
To utter forth the anguiſh of his hart,
And would not heare, when he to her complayned
The piteous paſſion of his dying ſmart.
Yet live for ever, though againſt her will,
And ſpeake her good, though ſhe requite it ill.

SONNET XLIX.

FAYRE cruell! why are ye ſo fierce and cruell?
Is it becauſe your eyes have powre to kill?
Then know that mercy is the mighties jewell,
And greater glory think to ſave then ſpill.
But if it be your pleaſure, and proud will,
To ſhew the powre of your imperious eyes,
Then not on him that never thought you ill,
But bend your force againſt your enemyes:

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Let them feele th' utmoſt of your crueltyes,
And kill with looks, as Cockatrices doo;
But him, that at your footſtoole humbled lies,
With mercifull regard give mercy too.
Such mercy ſhal you make admyred to be;
So ſhall you live by giving life to me.

Sonnet L.

LONG languiſhing in double malady,
Of my harts wound and of my bodies greiſe,
There came to me a leach, that would apply
Fit medicines for my bodies beſt reliefe.
Vayne man, (quod I) that haſt but little priefe
In deep diſcovery of the mynds diſeaſe!
Is not the hart of all the body chiefe,
And rules the members as it ſelfe doth pleaſe?
Then with ſome cordialls ſeeke for to appeaſe
The inward languour of my wounded hart,
And then my body ſhall have ſhortly eaſe;
But ſuch ſweet cordialls paſſe Phyſitions art.
Then, my lyfes Leach! doe you your ſkill reveale,
And with one ſalve both hart and body heale.

Sonnet LI.

DOE I not ſee that fayreſt ymages
Of hardeſt Marble are of purpoſe made,
For that they ſhould endure through many ages,
Ne let theyr famous moniments to fade?
Why then doe I, untrainde in lovers trade,
Her hardnes blame, which I ſhould more commend,
Sith never ought was excellent aſſayde
Which was not hard t' atchive and bring to end?

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Ne ought ſo hard, but he, that would attend,
Mote ſoften it and to his will allure.
So doe I hope her ſtubborne hart to bend,
And that it then more ſtedfaſt will endure:
Onely my paines wil be the more to get her;
But, having her, my joy will be the greater.

SONNET LII.

SO oft as homeward I from her depart,
I go lyke one that, having loſt the field,
Is priſoner led away with heavy hart,
Deſpoyld of warlike armes and knowen ſhield.
So doe I now my ſelfe a priſoner yield
To ſorrow and to ſolitary paine;
From preſence of my deareſt deare exylde,
Longwhile alone in languor to remaine.
There let no thought of joy, or pleaſure vaine,
Dare to approch, that may my ſolace breed;
But ſudden dumps,* and drery ſad diſdayne
Of all worlds gladneſſe, more my torment feed.
So I her abſens will my penaunce make,
That of her preſens I my meed may take.

SONNET LIII.

THE Panther, knowing that his ſpotted hyde
Doth pleaſe all beaſts, but that his looks them fray,
Within a buſh his dreadfull head doth hide,
To let them gaze, whylſt he on them may pray.
Right ſo my cruell fayre with me doth play;

---

* *But ſudden dumps.*] We ſhould be diſpoſed, if we dared take the liberty, to alter "ſudden" to *ſullen*; as in "King John," A. i. Sc. 1, it ſeems likely that the oppoſite miſprint has been made, viz. "ſullen" for *ſudden*. See "Shakeſpeare," 1858, vol. iii. p. 126. C.

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For, with the goodly ſemblant of her hew,[x]
She doth allure me to mine owne decay,
And then no mercy will unto me ſhew.
Great ſhame it is, thing ſo divine in view,
Made for to be the worlds moſt ornament,
To make the bayte her gazers to embrew :[y]
Good ſhames to be to ill an inſtrument,
But mercy doth with beautie beſt agree,
As in theyr Maker ye them beſt may ſee.

SONNET LIV.

OF this worlds Theatre in which we ſtay,
My love, like the Spectator, ydly ſits,
Beholding me, that all the pageants play,
Diſguyſing diverſly my troubled wits.
Sometimes I joy when glad occaſion fits,
And maſk in myrth lyke to a Comedy :
Soone after, when my joy to ſorrow flits,
I waile, and make my woes a Tragedy.
Yet ſhe, beholding me with conſtant eye,
Delights not in my mirth, not rues my ſmart ;
But, when I laugh, ſhe mocks; and, when I cry,
She laughes, and hardens evermore her hart.
What then can move her? if nor mirth, nor mone,
She is no woman, but a ſenceleſſe ſtone.[z]

---

[x] *For, with the goodly ſemblant of her hew.*] The word is "ſemblant," as we have printed it, in the firſt edition of Spenſer's "Amoretti," but *ſemblance* in the folio 1611 and in various later editions. Todd adopted *ſemblance* from the folio.

[y] *her gazers to embrew.*] Here, a metaphorical expreſſion. See F. Q. iii. vi. 17. TODD. In the place referred to the participle is employed for *bloody*, or "embrewed with blood," viz. "their embrewed game:" ſee vol. ii. p. 450. C.

[z] *She is no woman, but a ſenceleſſe ſtone.*] So in "All's Well that Ends Well," Act iv. Sc. 2, where Bertram tells Diana :—

"If the quick fire of youth light not your mind,
You are no maiden, but a monument:

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Sonnet LV.

SO oft as I her beauty doe behold,
And therewith doe her cruelty compare,
I marvaile of what ſubſtance was the mould,
The which her made attonce ſo cruell faire.
Not earth; for her high thoghts more heavenly are:
Not water; for her love doth burne like fyre:
Not ayre; for ſhe is not ſo light or rare:
Not fyre; for ſhe doth frieſe with faint deſire.
Then needs another Element inquire
Whereof ſhe mote be made; that is, the ſkye:
For, to the heaven her haughty looks aſpire;
And eke her love is pure immortall hye.
Then, ſith to heaven ye lykened are the beſt,
Be lyke in mercy as in all the reſt.

Sonnet LVI.

FAYRE ye be ſure, but cruell and unkind,
As is a Tygre, that with greedineſſe
Hunts after bloud; when he by chance doth find
A feeble beaſt, doth felly him oppreſſe.
Fayre be ye ſure, but proud and pitileſſe,
As is a ſtorme, that all things doth proſtrate;
Finding a tree alone all comfortleſſe,
Beats on it ſtrongly, it to ruinate.
Fayre be ye ſure, but hard and obſtinate,
As is a rocke amidſt the raging floods;

When you are dead, you ſhould be ſuch a one
As you are now, for you are cold and ſtone."

By a "monument" the poet means a figure on a monument, which is "cold and ſtone," not *ſterne*, as the paſſage has always been miſprinted. See Shakeſp. edit. Collier, 1858, ii. 596. "One" and "ſtone" were conſtantly uſed as rhymes of old. C.

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Gaynſt which, a ſhip, of ſuccour deſolate,
Doth ſuffer wreck both of her ſelfe and goods.
That ſhip, that tree, and that ſame beaſt am I,
Whom ye doe wreck, doe ruine, and deſtroy.

SONNET LVII.

SWEET warriour! when ſhall I have peace with you?
High time it is this warre now ended were,
Which I no lenger can endure to ſue,
Ne your inceſſant battry more to beare:
So weake my powres, ſo ſore my wounds appeare,
That wonder is how I ſhould live a jot,
Seeing my hart through launched every where
With thouſand arrowes, which your eies have ſhot:
Yet ſhoot ye ſharpely ſtill, and ſpare me not,
But glory thinke to make theſe cruel ſtoures.
Ye cruell one! what glory can be got,
In ſlaying him that would live gladly yours?
Make peace therefore, and graunt me timely grace
That al my wounds wil heale in little ſpace.

SONNET LVIII.

By her that is moſt aſſured to her ſelfe.

WEAKE is th' aſſurance that weake fleſh repoſeth
In her owne powre, and ſcorneth others ayde;
That ſooneſt fals, when as ſhe moſt ſuppoſeth
Her ſelfe aſſur'd, and is of nought affrayd.
All fleſh is frayle, and all her ſtrength unſtayd,
Like a vaine bubble blowen up with ayre:
Devouring tyme and changeful chance have prayd
Her glorious pride that none may it repayre.

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Ne none ſo rich or wiſe, ſo ſtrong or fayre,
But fayleth, truſting on his owne aſſurance,
And he that ſtandeth on the hygheſt ſtayre,
Fals loweſt; for on earth nought hath endurance.
Why then doe ye, proud fayre, miſdeeme ſo farre,
That to your ſelfe ye moſt aſſured arre?

SONNET LIX.

THRISE happie ſhe! that is ſo well aſſured
Unto her ſelfe, and ſetled ſo in hart,
That neither will for better be allured,
Ne feard with worſe to any chaunce to ſtart;
But, like a ſteddy ſhip, doth ſtrongly part
The raging waves, and keepes her courſe aright;
Ne ought for tempeſt doth from it depart;
Ne ought for fayrer weathers falſe delight.
Such ſelfe aſſurance need not feare the ſpight
Of grudging foes, ne favour ſeek of friends;
But, in the ſtay of her owne ſtedfaſt might,
Neither to one her ſelfe nor other bends.
Moſt happy ſhe, that moſt aſſured doth reſt;
But he moſt happy, who ſuch one loves beſt!

SONNET LX.

THEY, that in courſe of heavenly ſpheares are ſkild,
To every planet point his ſundry yeare,
In which her circles voyage is fulfild;
As Mars in three ſcore yeares doth run his ſpheare.
So, ſince the winged God his planet cleare
Began in me to move, one yeare is ſpent:
The which doth longer unto me appeare,
Then al thoſe fourty which my life outwent.

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Then by that count, which lovers books invent,
The ſpheare of Cupid fourty yeares containes;
Which I have waſted in long languiſhment,
That ſeem'd the longer for my greater paines.
But let my loves fayre planet ſhort her wayes
This yeare enſuing, or elſe ſhort my dayes.

Sonnet LXI.

THE glorious image of the Makers beautie,
My ſoverayne ſaynt, the Idoll of my thought,
Dare not henceforth above the bounds of dewtie
T' accuſe of pride, or raſhly blame for ought:
For being, as ſhe is, divinely wrought,
And of the brood of Angels hevenly born;
And with the crew of bleſſed Saynts upbrought,
Each of which did her with theyr guifts adorne;
The bud of joy, the bloſſome of the morne,
The beame of light whom mortal eyes admyre;
What reaſon is it, then, but ſhe ſhould ſcorne
Baſe things, that to her love too bold aſpire?
Such heavenly formes ought rather worſhipt be,
Then dare be lov'd by men of meane degree.

Sonnet LXII.

THE weary yeare his race now having run,
The new begins his compaſt courſe anew:
With ſhew of morning mylde he hath begun,
Betokening peace and plenty to enſew.
So let us, which this chaunge of weather vew,
Chaunge eeke our mynds, and former lives amend;
The old yeares ſinnes forepaſt let us eſchew,
And fly the faults with which we did offend.
Then ſhall the new yeares joy forth freſhly ſend
Into the glooming world his gladſome ray;

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And all theſe ſtormes, which now his beauty blend,[a]
Shall turne to caulmes, and tymely cleare away.
So, likewiſe, love! cheare you your heavy ſpright,
And chaunge old yeares annoy to new delight.

SONNET LXIII.

AFTER long ſtormes and tempeſts ſad aſſay,
Which hardly I endured heretofore,
In dread of death, and daungerous diſmay,
With which my ſilly barke was toſſed ſore,
I doe at length deſcry the happy ſhore,
In which I hope ere long for to arryve:
Fayre ſoyle it ſeemes from far, and fraught with ſtore
Of all that deare and daynty is alyve.
Moſt happy he, that can at laſt atchyve
The joyous ſafety of ſo ſweet a reſt;
Whoſe leaſt delight ſufficeth to deprive
Remembrance of all paines which him oppreſt!
All paines are nothing in reſpect of this;
All ſorrowes ſhort that gaine eternall bliſſe.

SONNET LXIV.

COMMING to kiſſe her lyps, (ſuch grace I found)
Me ſeemd I ſmelt a gardin of ſweet flowres,
That dainty odours from them threw around,
For damzels fit to decke their lovers bowres.
Her lips did ſmell lyke unto Gillyflowers;
Her ruddy cheekes, lyke unto Roſes red;

---

[a] *which now his beauty blend.*] It may be doubted whether here we are to take "blend" in the ſenſe of *blind*, as in F. Q. vol. ii. p. 144, &c. or in the ſenſe of *confound*, as in F. Q. vol. ii. p. 160. If the former, we muſt underſtand "blind" as *conceal* or *cover*; but we are more diſpoſed to think that Spenſer means that the new year's "gladſome ray" is *confounded* by ſtorms. C.

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Her ſnowy browes, lyke budded Bellamoures;
Her lovely eyes, lyke Pincks but newly ſpred;
Her goodly boſome, lyke a Strawberry bed;
Her neck, lyke to a bounch of Cullambynes;
Her breſt, lyke lillyes, ere their leaves be ſhed;
Her nipples, lyke young bloſſomd Jeſſemynes.
Such fragrant flowres doe give moſt odorous ſmell;
But her ſweet odour did them all excell.

Sonnet LXV.

THE doubt which ye miſdeeme, fayre love, is vaine,
That fondly feare to loſe your liberty;
When, loſing one, two liberties ye gayne,
And make him bond that bondage earſt did fly.
Sweet be the bands the which true love doth tye
Without conſtraynt, or dread of any ill:
The gentle birde feeles no captivity
Within her cage; but ſings, and feeds her fill.
There pride dare not approch, nor diſcord ſpill
The league twixt them that loyal love hath bound;
But ſimple truth, and mutual good will,
Seekes with ſweet peace to ſalve each others wound:
There fayth doth fearleſs dwell in braſen towre,
And ſpotleſſe pleaſure builds her ſacred bowre.

Sonnet LXVI.

TO all thoſe happy bleſſings, which ye have
With plenteous hand by heaven upon you thrown,
This one diſparagement they to you gave,
That ye your love lent to ſo meane a one.
Ye, whoſe high worths ſurpaſſing paragon
Could not on earth have found one fit for mate,

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Ne, but in heaven, matchable to none,
Why did ye ſtoup unto ſo lowly ſtate?
But ye thereby much greater glory gate,
Then had ye ſorted with a princes pere;
For now your light doth more it ſelfe dilate,
And in my darkneſſe greater doth appeare.
Yet, ſince your light hath once enlumind[b] me,
With my reflex yours ſhall encreaſed be.

SONNET LXVII.

LYKE as a huntſman after weary chace,
Seeing the game from him eſcapt away,
Sits downe to reſt him in ſome ſhady place,
With panting hounds beguiled of their pray:
So, after long purſuit and vaine aſſay,
When I all weary had the chace forſooke,
The gentle deare returnd the ſelfe-ſame way,
Thinking to quench her thirſt at the next brooke:
There ſhe, beholding me with mylder looke,
Sought not to fly, but fearleſſe ſtill did bide;
Till I in hand her yet halfe trembling tooke,
And with her owne goodwill her fyrmely tyde.
Strange thing, me ſeemd, to ſee a beaſt ſo wyld,
So goodly wonne, with her owne will beguyld.

SONNET LXVIII.

MOST glorious Lord of lyfe! that, on this day,
Didſt make thy triumph over death and ſin;

[b] *hath once enlumind.*] Chaucer's word. See "The Cl. of Ox. Prol." 1063, edit. Urr. ſpeaking of Petrarch—

——— "whoſe Rhetorike ſo ſwete
"*Enluminid* Itaile of Poetrie."

Todd. Gower alſo has "enlumined" in "Conf. Am." b. vii. as Richardſon ſhows: we have alſo met with it before in Spenſer; ſee F. Q. B. ii. C. ix. St. 4; vol. ii. p. 239. C.

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And, having harrowd hell,[c] didſt bring away
Captivity thence captive, us to win:
This joyous day, deare Lord, with joy begin;
And grant that we, for whom thou diddeſt dy,
Being with thy deare blood clene waſht from ſin,
May live for ever in felicity!
And that thy love we weighing worthily,
May likewiſe love thee for the ſame againe;
And for thy ſake, that all lyke deare didſt buy,
With love may one another entertayne.
So let us love, deare love, lyke as we ought:
Love is the leſſon which the Lord us taught.

SONNET LXIX.

THE famous warriors of the anticke world
Us'd Trophees to ereƈt in ſtately wize,
In which they would the records have enrold
Of theyr great deeds and valarous emprize.
What trophee then ſhall I moſt fit devize,
In which I may record the memory
Of my loves conqueſt, peereleſſe beauties priſe,
Adorn'd with honour, love, and chaſtity?
Even this verſe, vowd to eternity,
Shall be thereof immortall moniment,
And tell her prayſe to all poſterity,
That may admire ſuch worlds rare wonderment;
The happy purchaſe of my glorious ſpoile,
Gotten at laſt with labour and long toyle.

[c] *And, having harrowd hell.*] Having *conquered* hell. There is an old poem on the ſubjeƈt of Chriſt's *harrowing* hell. See Mr. Steevens's note on *harrow* in Shakeſpeare's "Hamlet." TODD. Todd was not aware of it, but the "Harrowing of Hell" is the ſubjeƈt of the oldeſt known dramatic performance in our language: it belongs, probably, to the reign of Edward II. and is contained in MS. Harl. 2253. The Editor printed twenty-five copies of it in 1836. C.

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Sonnet LXX.

FRESH Spring, the herald of loves mighty king,
In whoſe cote armour richly are diſplayd
All ſorts of flowres, the which on earth do ſpring,
In goodly colours gloriouſly arrayd,
Goe to my love, where ſhe is careleſſe layd
Yet in her winters bowre, not well awake;
Tell her the joyous time wil not be ſtaid,
Unleſſe ſhe doe him by the forelock take;
Bid her therefore her ſelfe ſoone ready make,
To wayt on love amongſt his lovely crew;
Where every one, that miſſeth then her make,
Shall be by him amearſt with penance dew.
Make haſt therefore, ſweet love, whilſt it is prime;
For none can call againe the paſſed time.

Sonnet LXXI.

LIKE JOY to ſee how, in your drawen work,
Your ſelfe unto the Bee ye doe compare;
And me unto the Spyder, that doth lurke
In cloſe awayt to catch her unaware:
Right ſo your ſelfe[d] were caught in cunning ſnare
Of a deare foe, and thralled to his love;
In whoſe ſtreight bands ye now captived are
So firmely, that ye never may remove.
But as your worke is woven all about
With woodbynd flowers and fragrant Eglantine,
So ſweet your priſon you in time ſhall prove,
With many deare delights bedecked fyne;
And all thensforth eternall peace ſhall ſee
Betweene the Spyder and the gentle Bee.

---

[d] *Right ſo your ſelfe.*] Todd made nonſenſe of the line by printing, "Right *to* your ſelfe," &c. In the next line but three "about," of the old copies, ought to be *above*. C.

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Sonnet LXXII.

OFT, when my ſpirit doth ſpred her bolder winges,
In mind to mount up to the pureſt ſky,
It down is weighd with thoght of earthly things,
And clogd with burden of mortality;
Where, when that ſoverayne beauty it doth ſpy,
Reſembling heavens glory in her light,
Drawne with ſweet pleaſures bayt it back doth fly,
And unto heaven forgets her former flight.
There my fraile fancy, fed with full delight,
Doth bathe in bliſſe, and mantleth moſt at eaſe;
Ne thinks of other heaven, but how it might
Her harts deſire with moſt contentment pleaſe.
Hart need not wiſh none other happineſſe,
But here on earth to have ſuch hevens bliſſe.

Sonnet LXXIII.

BEING my ſelfe captyved here in care,
My hart, whom none with ſervile bands can tye,
But the fayre treſſes of your golden hayre,
Breaking his priſon, forth to you doth fly.
Like as a byrd, that in ones hand doth ſpy
Deſired food, to it doth make his flight;
Even ſo my hart, that wont on your fayre eye
To feed his fill, flyes backe unto your ſight.
Doe you him take, and in your boſome bright
Gently encage, that he may be your thrall:
Perhaps he there may learne, with rare delight,
To ſing your name and prayſes over all;
That it hereafter may you not repent,
Him lodging in your boſome to have lent.

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Sonnet LXXIV.

MOST happy letters! fram'd by ſkilfull trade,
With which that happy name was firſt deſynd,
The which three times thriſe happy hath me made,
With guifts of body, fortune, and of mind.
The firſt my being to me gave by kind,
From mothers womb deriv'd by dew deſcent:
The ſecond is my ſovereigne Queene moſt kind,
That honour and large richeſſe to me lent:
The third, my love, my lives laſt ornament,
By whom my ſpirit out of duſt was rayſed,
To ſpeake her prayſe and glory excellent;
Of all alive moſt worthy to be prayſed.
Ye three Elizabeths, for ever live,
That three ſuch graces did unto me give!

Sonnet LXXV.

ONE day I wrote her name upon the ſtrand;
But came the waves, and waſhed it away:
Agayne, I wrote it with a ſecond hand;
But came the tyde, and made my paynes his pray.
Vayne man! ſayd ſhe, that doeſt in vaine aſſay
A mortall thing ſo to immortalize;
For I my ſelfe ſhall lyke to this decay,
And eek my name bee wyped out lykewize.
Not ſo (quod I); let baſer things devize
To dy in duſt, but you ſhall live by fame:
My verſe your vertues rare ſhall eternize,
And in the hevens wryte your glorious name;
Where, when as death ſhall all the world ſubdew,
Our love ſhall live, and later life renew.

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Sonnet LXXVI.

FAYRE boſome! fraught with vertues richeſt treſure,
The neaſt of love, the lodging of delight,
The bowre of bliſſe, the paradice of pleaſure,
The ſacred harbour of that hevenly ſpright;
How was I raviſht with your lovely ſight,
And my frayle thoughts too raſhly led aſtray!
Whiles diving deepe through amorous inſight,
On the ſweet ſpoyle of beautie they did pray;
And twixt her paps, like early fruit in May,
Whoſe harveſt ſeemd to haſten now apace,
They looſely did theyr wanton winges diſplay,
And there to reſt themſelves did boldly place.
Sweet thoughts! I envy your ſo happy reſt,
Which oft I wiſht, yet never was ſo bleſt.

Sonnet LXXVII.

WAS it a dreame, or did I ſee it playne?
A goodly table of pure yvory,
All ſpred with juncats, fit to entertayne
The greateſt Prince with pompous roialty?
Mongſt which, there in a ſilver diſh did ly
Two golden apples of unvalewd price;
Far paſſing thoſe which Hercules came by,
Or thoſe which Atalanta did entice:
Exceeding ſweet, yet voyd of ſinfull vice;
That many ſought, yet none could ever taſte;
Sweet fruit of pleaſure, brought from paradice
By Love himſelfe, and in his garden plaſte!
Her breſt that table was, ſo richly ſpredd;
My thoughts the gueſts which would thereon have fedd.

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Sonnet LXXVIII.

WACKYNG my Love, I go from place to place,
Lyke a young fawne that late hath loſt the hynd;
And ſeeke each where, where laſt I ſawe her face,
Whoſe ymage yet I carry freſh in mynd.
I ſeeke the fields with her late footing ſynd;
I ſeeke her bowre with her late preſence deckt;
Yet nor in field nor bowre I can her fynd,
Yet field and bowre are full of her aſpect:
But when myne eyes I therunto direct,
They ydly back returne to me agayne;
And when I hope to ſee theyr trew object,
I fynd my ſelf but fed with fancies vayne.
Ceaſſe then, myne eyes, to ſeeke her ſelfe to ſee;
And let my thoughts behold her ſelfe in mee.

Sonnet LXXIX.

MEN call you fayre, and you doe credit it,
For that your ſelfe ye daily ſuch doe ſee;
But the trew fayre, that is the gentle wit
And vertuous mind, is much more prayſd of me:
For all the reſt, how ever fayre it be,
Shall turne to nought and looſe that glorious hew;
But onely that is permanent, and free
From frayle corruption that doth fleſh enſew.
That is true beautie: that doth argue you
To be divine, and borne of heavenly ſeed;
Deriv'd from that fayre Spirit, from whom al true
And perfect beauty did at firſt proceed:
He onely fayre, and what he fayre hath made,
All other fayre, lyke flowres, untymely fade.

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SONNET LXXX.

AFTER ſo long a race as I have run
Through Faery land, which thoſe ſix books compile,
Give leave to reſt me, being halfe foredonne,
And gather to my ſelfe new breath awhile.
Then, as a ſteed refreſhed after toyle,
Out of my priſon I will break anew;
And ſtoutly will that ſecond work aſſoyle,
With ſtrong endevour and attention dew.
Till then give leave to me in pleaſant mew
To ſport my muſe, and ſing my loves ſweet praiſe;
The contemplation of whoſe heavenly hew,
My ſpirit to an higher pitch will rayſe.
But let her prayſes[e] yet be low and meane,
Fit for the handmayd of the Faery Queene.

SONNET LXXXI.

FAYRE is my Love, when her fayre golden heares
With the looſe wynd ye waving chance to marke;
Fayre, when the roſe in her red cheekes appeares,
Or in her eyes the fyre of love does ſparke.
Fayre, when her breſt, lyke a rich laden barke
With pretious merchandize, ſhe forth doth lay;
Fayre, when that cloud of pryde, which oft doth dark
Her goodly light, with ſmiles ſhe drives away:
But fayreſt ſhe, when ſo ſhe doth diſplay
The gate with pearles and rubyes richly dight;

---

[e] *But let her prayſes*, &c.] This concluding couplet is nearly the ſame as that of Drayton's ſixth Eglog, "Shep. Garl." 1593, p. 44,—

"Long may ſhe be, as ſhe hath euer beene,
"The lowly handmaide of the Fayrie Queene."

TODD. Drayton is there ſpeaking of a lady whom he calls Pandora, meaning Lady Pembroke. Spenſer's Sonnet was probably poſterior in point of date to Drayton's paſtoral. C.

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Throgh which her words ſo wiſe do make their way
To beare the meſſage of her gentle ſpright.
The reſt be works of natures wonderment;
But this the worke of harts aſtoniſhment.

SONNET LXXXII.

JOY of my life! full oft for loving you
I bleſſe my lot that was ſo lucky placed;
But then, the more your owne miſhap I rew,
That are ſo much by ſo meane love embaſed:
For, had the equall hevens ſo much you graced
In this as in the reſt, ye mote invent
Som hevenly wit, whoſe verſe could have enchaſed
Your glorious name in golden moniment.
But ſince ye deignd ſo goodly to relent
To me your thrall, in whom is little worth,
That little, that I am, ſhall all be ſpent
In ſetting your immortal prayſes forth;
Whoſe lofty argument, uplifting me,
Shall lift you up unto an high degree.

SONNET LXXXIII.

LET not one ſparke[f] of filthy luſtfull fyre
Breake out, that may her ſacred peace moleſt;
Ne one light glance of ſenſuall deſyre
Attempt to work her gentle mindes unreſt:
But pure affections bred in ſpotleſſe breſt,
And modeſt thoughts breathd from well tempred ſpirits,

[f] *Let not one ſparke*, &c.] I have omitted Sonnet LXXXIII. in the original and every other edition, becauſe it is the ſame as Sonnet XXXV. This circumſtance has hitherto eſcaped obſervation. TODD. Todd ought to have noticed that there is one verbal difference between the two copies, though not very material: it is in line 6 (p. 133), where "And having it" in one copy of the Sonnet is "And *ſeeing* it" in another. C.

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Goe viſit her in her chaſte bowre of reſt
Accompanyde with angelick delightes.
There fill your ſelfe with thoſe moſt joyous ſights,
The which my ſelfe could never yet attayne;
But ſpeake no word to her of theſe ſad plights,
Which her too conſtant ſtiffneſſe doth conſtrayn.
Onely behold her rare perfection,
And bleſſe your fortunes fayre election.

Sonnet LXXXIV.

THE world, that cannot deeme of worthy things,
When I doe praiſe her, ſay I doe but flatter:
So does the Cuckow, when the Mavis ſings,
Begin his witleſſe note apace to clatter.
But they that ſkill not of ſo heavenly matter,
All that they know not envy or admyre;
Rather then envy let them wonder at her,
But not to deeme of her deſert aſpyre.
Deepe in the cloſet of my parts entyre
Her worth is written with a golden quill,
That me with heavenly fury doth inſpire,
And my glad mouth with her ſweet prayſes fill:
Which when as fame in her ſhrill trump ſhal thunder,
Let the world choſe to envy or to wonder.

Sonnet LXXXV.

VENEMOUS toung, tipt with vile adders ſting,
Of that ſelfe kynd with which the Furies fell
Theyr ſnaky heads doe combe, from which a ſpring
Of poyſoned words and ſpightfull ſpeeches well;
Let all the plagues, and horrid paines, of hell
Upon thee fall for thine accurſed hyre;
That with falſe forged lyes, which thou didſt tel,
In my true love did ſtirre up coles of yre;

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The ſparkes whereof let kindle thine own fyre,
And, catching hold on thine own wicked hed,
Conſume thee quite, that didſt with guile conſpire
In my ſweet peace ſuch breaches to have bred!
Shame be thy meed, and miſchiefe thy reward,
Due to thy ſelfe, that it for me prepard!

SONNET LXXXVI.

SINCE I did leave the preſence of my love,
Many long weary dayes I have outworne,
And many nights, that ſlowly ſeemd to move
Theyr ſad protract[s] from evening untill morne:
For when as day the heaven doth adorne,
I wiſh that night the noyous day would end;
And when as night hath us of light forlorne,
I wiſh that day would ſhortly reaſcend.
Thus I the time with expectation ſpend,
And faine my griefe with chaunges to beguile,
That further ſeemes his terme ſtill to extend,
And maketh every minute ſeem a myle.
So ſorrowe ſtill doth ſeeme too long to laſt,
But joyous houres doe fly away too faſt.

SONNET LXXXVII.

SINCE I have lackt the comfort of that light,
The which was wont to lead my thoughts aſtray,
I wander as in darkneſſe of the night,
Affrayd of every dangers leaſt diſmay.
Ne ought I ſee, though in the cleareſt day,
When others gaze upon theyr ſhadowes vayne,

[s] *Theyr ſad protract.*] This ſubſtantive, I believe, was firſt adopted by Spenſer. TODD. Richardſon, without citing this inſtance from Spenſer, ſupplies an earlier from the letter of Henry VIII. to Sir Thomas Wyat, where he ſpeaks of the "further protract and dilation of time:" ſee his Dictionary in v. C

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But th' onely image of that heavenly ray,
Whereof ſome glance doth in mine eie remayne:
Of which beholding the Idæa playne,
Through contemplation of my pureſt part,
With light thereof I doe my ſelfe ſuſtayne,
And thereon feed my love-affamiſht hart.
But, with ſuch brightneſſe whyleſt I fill my mind,
I ſtarve my body, and mine eyes doe blynd.

Sonnet LXXXVIII.

LYKE as the Culver[h] on the bared bough
Sits mourning for the abſence of her mate,
And in her ſongs ſends many a wiſhfull vow
For his returne that ſeemes to linger late;
So I alone, now left diſconſolate,
Mourne to my ſelfe the abſence of my love,
And, wandring here and there all deſolate,
Seek with my playnts to match that mournful dove:
Ne joy of ought that under heaven doth hove
Can comfort me, but her owne joyous ſight;
Whoſe ſweet aſpect both God and man can move,
In her unſpotted pleaſauns to delight.
Dark is my day whyles her fayre light I mis,
And dead my life that wants ſuch lively blis.

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[h] *Lyke as the Culver.*] *Dove.* So, in Caxton's "Liber Feſtivalis," 1483. Sign. i. iiij. "The offerynge of the riche man was a lambe, and for a poure man a payre of turtyls or two *culver* byrdes." Todd.

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POEMS.

IN youth before I waxed old,[a]
The blynd boy, Venus baby,
For want of cunning made me bold,
In bitter hyve to grope for honny:
But, when he ſaw me ſtung and cry,
He tooke his wings and away did fly.

AS Diane hunted on a day,
She chaunſt to come where Cupid lay,
His quiver by his head:
One of his ſhafts ſhe ſtole away,
And one of hers did cloſe convay
Into the others ſtead:
With that Love wounded my loves hart,
But Diane beaſts with Cupids dart.

I SAW, in ſecret to my Dame
How little Cupid humbly came,
And ſaid to her; "All hayle, my mother!"
But when he ſaw me laugh, for ſhame

---

[a] *In youth before I waxed old.*] Theſe four ſhort poems immediately follow Spenſer's "Amoretti," and precede his "Epithalamion." Nothing ſeems known of their hiſtory. Editors have uſually ſtyled them "Poem I. Poem II." &c. but they have no titles in any of the old impreſſions. We ſo continue them. C.

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His face with baſhfull blood did flame,
Not knowing Venus from the other.
" Then, never bluſh, Cupid (quoth I),
For many have err'd in this beauty."

UPON a day, as Love lay ſweetly ſlumbring
All in his mothers lap,
A gentle Bee, with his loud trumpet murm'ring,
About him flew by hap:
Whereof when he was wakened with the noyſe,
And ſaw the beaſt ſo ſmall;
" Whats this (quoth he) that gives ſo great a voyce,
That wakens men withall?
In angry wize he flies about,
And threatens all with corage ſtout."

To whom his mother cloſely ſmiling ſayd,
'Twixt earneſt and 'twixt game:
" See! thou thy ſelfe likewiſe art lyttle made,
If thou regard the ſame;
And yet thou ſuffreſt neyther gods in ſky,
Nor men in earth, to reſt;
But when thou art diſpoſed cruelly,
Theyr ſleepe thou dooſt moleſt.
Then eyther change thy cruelty,
Or give lyke leave unto the fly."

Nathleſſe, the cruell boy, not ſo content,
Would needs the fly purſue;
And in his hand, with heedleſſe hardiment,
Him caught for to ſubdue.
But when on it he haſty hand did lay,
The Bee him ſtung therefore:
" Now out alas, (he cryde) and welaway!
I wounded am full ſore:

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The fly that I ſo much did ſcorne,
Hath hurt me with his little horne."

Unto his mother ſtraight he weeping came,
And of his griefe complayned;
Who could not choſe but laugh at his fond game,
Though ſad to ſee him pained.
" Think now, (quoth ſhe) my ſonne, how great the ſmart
Of thoſe whom thou doſt wound:
Full many thou haſt pricked to the hart,
That pitty never found.
Therefore, henceforth ſome pitty take,
When thou doeſt ſpoyle of Lovers make."

She tooke him ſtreight full pitiouſly lamenting,
And wrapt him in her ſmock:
She wrapt him ſoftly, all the while repenting
That he the fly did mock.
She dreſt his wound, and it embaulmed well
With ſalve of ſoveraigne might;
And then ſhe bath'd him in a dainty well,
The well of deare delight.
Who would not oft be ſtung as this,
To be ſo bath'd in Venus blis?

The wanton boy was ſhortly wel recured
Of that his malady;
But he, ſoone after, freſh again enured
His former cruelty:
And ſince that time he wounded hath my ſelfe
With his ſharpe dart of Love;
And now forgets, the cruell careleſſe elfe,
His mothers heaſt to prove.
So now I languiſh, till he pleaſe
My pining anguiſh to appeaſe.

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EPITHALAMION.[a]

YE learned ſiſters, which have oftentimes
Beene to the ayding, others to adorne,
Whom ye thought worthy of your graceſull rymes,
That even the greateſt did not greatly ſcorne
To heare theyr names ſung in your ſimple layes,
But joyed in theyr praiſe;
And when ye liſt your own miſhaps to mourne,
Which death, or love, or fortunes wreck did rayſe,
Your ſtring could ſoone to ſadder tenor turne,
And teach the woods and waters to lament
Your dolefull dreriment:
Now lay thoſe ſorrowfull complaints aſide;
And having all your heads with girland crownd,
Helpe me mine owne loves prayſes to reſound;
Ne let the ſame of any be envide:

[a] *Epithalamion.*] The ſong of love and jollity, as he calls it, F. Q. i. xii. 38 [vol. ii. p. 80]. Our poets were profuſe in compliments of this kind, on the marriages of their friends. See particularly Heyrick's "Poems," edit. 1648, p. 57. And Randolph's "Poems," edit. 1640, p. 34. Puttenham, in his "Arte of Engliſh Poeſie," is minute in his deſcription of the ceremonies attending the performance of the "Epithalamion," &c. 1586. Todd. Todd errs in his date: Puttenham's work was publiſhed in 1589: it is in chap. xxvi. that he treats of "the manner of rejoyſings at mariages and weddings:" p. 40. C.

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So Orpheus did for his owne bride,
So I unto my ſelfe alone will ſing;
The woods ſhall to me anſwer, and my Eccho ring.

1 Early, before the worlds light giving lampe
His golden beame upon the hils doth ſpred,
Having diſperſt the nights unchearefull dampe,
Doe ye awake; and with freſh luſty hed
Go to the bowre of my beloved love,
My trueſt turtle dove:
Bid her awake; for Hymen is awake,
And long ſince ready forth his maſke to move,
With his bright Tead that flames with many a flake,
And many a bachelor to waite on him,
In theyr freſh garments trim.
Bid her awake therefore, and ſoone her dight,
For lo! the wiſhed day is come at laſt;
That ſhall for al the paynes and ſorrowes paſt
Pay to her uſury of long delight:
And, whyleſt ſhe doth her dight,
Doe ye to her of joy and ſolace ſing,
That all the woods may anſwer, and your eccho ring.

2 Bring with you all the Nymphes that you can heare
Both of the rivers and the forreſts greene,
And of the ſea that neighbours to her neare;
All with gay girlands goodly wel beſeene.
And let them alſo with them bring in hand
Another gay girland,
For my fayre love, of lillyes and of roſes,
Bound truelove wize, with a blew ſilke riband.
And let them make great ſtore of bridale poſes,
And let them eeke bring ſtore of other flowers,
To deck the bridale bowers.
And let the ground whereas her foot ſhall tread,

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For feare the ſtones her tender foot ſhould wrong,
Be ſtrewed with fragrant flowers all along,
And diapred lyke the diſcolored mead.[b]
Which done, doe at her chamber dore awayt,
For ſhe will waken ſtrayt,
The whiles do ye this ſong unto her ſing;
The woods ſhall to you anſwer, and your Eccho ring.

Ye Nymphes of Mulla, which with carefull heed
The ſilver ſcaly trouts do tend full well,
And greedy pikes which uſe therein to feed;
(Thoſe trouts and pikes all others doo excell;)
And ye likewiſe, which keepe the ruſhy lake
Where none doo fiſhes take,
Bynd up the locks the which hang ſcatterd light,
And in his waters, which your mirror make,
Behold your faces as the chriſtall bright,
That when you come whereas my love doth lie,
No blemiſh ſhe may ſpie.
And eke, ye lightfoot mayds, which keepe the dore,
That on the hoary mountayne uſe to towre,
And the wylde wolves which ſeeke them to devoure,
With your ſteele darts doo chace from comming neer;
Be alſo preſent heere,
To helpe to decke her, and to help to ſing,
That all the woods may anſwer, and your eccho ring.

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[b] *And diapred lyke the diſcolored mead.*] *Diverſified;* a word borrowed from Chaucer. See the "Rom. R." 934, edit. Urr.—

"And it was painted well and thwitten,
"And ore all *diapred* and written."

Todd. Chaucer alſo uſes the word *dappled*, and "dapple gray," as applied to a horſe, in his "Rime of Sir Topas;" and we are by no means convinced that "diapred" and *dappled* are not the ſame word, although a different etymology has been given to them: a horſe may be called *dappled*, becauſe his coat preſents the appearance of being "diapred." C.

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4 Wake now, my love, awake! for it is time;
The roſy Morne long ſince left Tithones bed,
All ready to her ſilver coche to clyme;
And Phœbus gins to ſhew his glorious hed.
Hark! how the cheerefull birds do chaunt theyr laies,
And carroll of loves praiſe.
The merry Larke hir mattins ſings aloft;
The Thruſh replyes; the Mavis deſcant playes;
The Ouzell ſhrills; the Ruddock warbles ſoft;
So goodly all agree with ſweet conſent
To this dayes meriment.
Ah! my deere love, why doe ye ſleepe thus long,
When meeter were that ye ſhould now awake,
T' awayt the comming of your joyous make,
And hearken to the birds lovelearned ſong,
The deawy leaves among?
For they of joy and pleaſance to you ſing,
That all the woods them anſwer, and theyr eccho ring.

5 My love is now awake out of her dreame,
And her fayre eyes, like ſtars that dimmed were
With darkſome cloud, now ſhew theyr goodly beams
More bright then Heſperus his head doth rere.
Come now, ye damzels, daughters of delight,
Helpe quickly her to dight:
But firſt come, ye fayre houres, which were begot,
In Joves ſweet paradice, of Day and Night;
Which doe the ſeaſons of the year allot,
And al that ever in this world is fayre
Do make and ſtill repayre:
And ye three handmayds of the Cyprian Queene,
The which doe ſtill adorn her beauties pride,
Helpe to adorne my beautifulleſt bride:
And, as ye her array, ſtill throw betweene
Some graces to be ſeene;

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And, as ye uſe to Venus, to her ſing,
The whiles the woods ſhal anſwer, and your eccho ring.

6 Now is my love all ready forth to come:
Let all the virgins therefore well awayt;
And ye freſh boyes, that tend upon her groome,
Prepare your ſelves, for he is comming ſtrayt.
Set all your things in ſeemely good aray,
Fit for ſo joyfull day:
The joyfulſt day that ever Sunne did ſee.
Fair Sun! ſhew forth thy favourable ray,
And let thy lifull heat not fervent be,
For feare of burning her ſunſhyny face,
Her beauty to diſgrace.
O fayreſt Phœbus! father of the Muſe!
If ever I did honour thee aright,
Or ſing the thing that mote thy mind delight,
Doe not thy ſervants ſimple boone refuſe;
But let this day, let this one day, be myne;
Let all the reſt be thine:
Then I thy ſoverayne prayſes loud wil ſing,
That all the woods ſhal anſwer, and theyr eccho ring.

7 HARKE! how the Minſtrels gin to ſhrill aloud
Their merry Muſick that reſounds from far,
The pipe, the tabor, and the trembling croud,[c]
That well agree withouten breach or jar.
But moſt of all the Damzels doe delite,
When they their tymbrels ſmyte,
And thereunto doe daunce and carrol ſweet,
That all the ſences they doe raviſh quite;

[c] *and the trembling croud.*] The "croud" has generally been explained to mean the *fidicula Britannica* or *fiddle*, and a "crowder" is a *fiddler*. The word is of perpetual occurrence from the time of Chaucer, and even earlier, to that of Butler. Skinner ſays A. S. *cruth*. C.

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The whyles the boyes run up and downe the ſtreet,
Crying aloud with ſtrong confuſed noyce,
As if it were one voyce,
Hymen! ïo Hymen! Hymen! they do ſhout;
That even to the heavens theyr ſhouting ſhrill
Doth reach, and all the firmament doth fill:
To which the people ſtanding all about,
As in approvance, doe thereto applaud,
And loud advaunce her laud;
And evermore they Hymen, Hymen, ſing,
That all the woods them anſwer, and theyr eccho ring.

Lo! where ſhe comes along with portly pace,
Lyke Phœbe, from her chamber of the Eaſt,
Aryſing forth to run her mighty race,
Clad all in white, that ſeems a virgin beſt.
So well it her beſeemes, that ye would weene
Some Angell ſhe had beene.
Her long looſe yellow locks[d] lyke golden wyre,
Sprinckled with perle, and perling flowres a tweene,
Doe lyke a golden mantle her attyre;
And being crowned with a girland greene,
Seem lyke ſome mayden Queene.
Her modeſt eyes, abaſhed to behold
So many gazers as on her do ſtare,
Upon the lowly ground affixed are;
Ne dare lift up her countenance too bold,

[d] *Her long looſe yellow locks.*] It is remarkable that Spenſer's females, both in the "Faerie Queene," and in his other poems, are all deſcribed with *yellow* hair. And, in his general deſcription of the influence of beauty over the braveſt men, he particulariſes *golden* treſſes. See F. Q. v. viii. 1 [vol. iii. p. 423]. This is ſaid in compliment to his miſtreſs, as here, and in Sonn. 15; or to Queen Elizabeth; who had both *yellow* hair: or perhaps in imitation of the Italian poets, who give moſt of their women treſſes of this colour. T. Warton.

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But bluſh to heare her prayſes ſung ſo loud,
So farre from being proud.
Nathleſſe, doe ye ſtill loud her prayſes ſing,
That all the woods may anſwer, and your eccho ring.

9 Tell me, ye merchants daughters, did ye ſee
So fayre a creature in your towne before,
So ſweet, ſo lovely, and ſo mild as ſhe,
Adornd with beautyes grace and vertues ſtore?
Her goodly eyes lyke Saphyres ſhining bright,
Her forehead yvory white,
Her cheekes lyke apples which the ſun hath rudded,
Her lips lyke cherryes charming men to byte,
Her breſt like to a bowl of cream uncrudded,
Her paps lyke lyllies budded,
Her ſnowie necke lyke to a marble towre;
And all her body like a pallace fayre,
Aſcending uppe, with many a ſtately ſtayre,
To honors ſeat and chaſtities ſweet bowre.
Why ſtand ye ſtill, ye Virgins, in amaze
Upon her ſo to gaze,
Whiles ye forget your former lay to ſing,
To which the woods did anſwer, and your eccho ring?

10 But if ye ſaw that which no eyes can ſee,
The inward beauty of her lively ſpright,
Garniſht with heavenly guifts of high degree,
Much more then would ye wonder at that ſight,
And ſtand aſtoniſht lyke to thoſe which red
Meduſaes mazeful hed.
There dwells ſweet love, and conſtant chaſtity,
Unſpotted fayth, and comely womanhood,
Regard of honour, and mild modeſty;
There vertue raynes as Queene in royal throne,
And giveth lawes alone,

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The which the baſe affections doe obay,
And yeeld theyr ſervices unto her will;
Ne thought of things uncomely ever may
Thereto approch to tempt her mind to ill.
Had ye once ſeene theſe her celeſtial threaſures,
And unrevealed pleaſures,
Then would ye wonder, and her prayſes ſing,
That all the woods ſhould anſwer, and your eccho ring.

11 Open the temple gates unto my love!
Open them wide that ſhe may enter in,
And all the poſtes adorne as doth behove,
And all the pillours deck with girlands trim,
For to receyve this Saynt with honour dew
That commeth in to you.
With trembling ſteps, and humble reverence,
She commeth in before th' Almighties vew:
Of her, ye virgins, learne obedience,
When ſo ye come into thoſe holy places,
To humble your proud faces.
Bring her up to th' high altar, that ſhe may
The ſacred ceremonies there partake,
The which do endleſſe matrimony make;
And let the roring Organs loudly play
The praiſes of the Lord in lively notes;
The whiles, with hollow throates,
The Choriſters the joyous Antheme ſing,
That all the woods may anſwere, and their eccho ring.

12 Behold, whiles ſhe before the altar ſtands,
Hearing the holy prieſt that to her ſpeakes,
And bleſſeth her with his two happy hands,
How the red roſes fluſh up in her cheekes,
And the pure ſnow, with goodly vermill ſtayne,
Like crimſin dyde in grayne;

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That even the Angels, which continually
About the ſacred altare doe remaine,
Forget their ſervice and about her fly,
Ofte peeping in her face, that ſeemes more fayre,
The more they on it ſtare.
But her ſad eyes, ſtill faſtened on the ground,
Are governed with goodly modeſty,
That ſuffers not one look to glaunce awry,
Which may let in a little thought unſownd.
Why bluſh ye, love, to give to me your hand,
The pledge of all our band?
Sing, ye ſweet Angels, Alleluya ſing,
That all the woods may anſwere, and your eccho ring.

13

Now al is done: bring home the Bride againe;
Bring home the triumph of our victory;
Bring home with you the glory of her gaine,
With joyance bring her and with jollity.
Never had man more joyfull day then this,
Whom heaven would heape with blis.
Make feaſt therefore now all this live long day;
This day for ever to me holy is.
Poure out the wine without reſtraint or ſtay,
Poure not by cups, but by the belly full,
Poure out to all that wull,
And ſprinkle all the poſts and wals with wine,
That they may ſweat, and drunken be withall.
Crowne ye God Bacchus with a coronall,
And Hymen alſo crowne with wreathes of vine;
And let the Graces daunce unto the reſt,
For they can doo it beſt:
The whiles the maydens doe theyr carroll ſing,
To which the woods ſhal anſwer, and theyr eccho ring.

14

Ring ye the bels, ye yong men of the towne,

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And leave your wonted labors for this day:
This day is holy; doe ye write it downe,
That ye for ever it remember may.
This day the ſunne is in his chiefeſt hight,
With Barnaby the bright,
From whence declining daily by degrees,
He ſomewhat loſeth of his heat and light,
When once the Crab behind his back he ſees.
But for this time it ill ordained was,
To chooſe the longeſt day in all the yeare,
And ſhorteſt night, when longeſt fitter weare:
Yet never day ſo long but late would paſſe.
Ring ye the bels, to make it weare away,
And bonefiers make all day;
And daunce about them, and about them ſing,
That all the woods may anſwer, and your eccho ring.

Ah! when will this long weary day have end,
And lende me leave to come unto my love?
How ſlowly do the houres theyr numbers ſpend;
How ſlowly does ſad Time his feathers move!
Haſt thee, O fayreſt Planet! to thy home
Within the Weſterne fome:
Thy tyred ſteedes long ſince have need of reſt.
Long though it be, at laſt I ſee it gloome,
And the bright evening ſtar with golden creaſt
Appeare out of the Eaſt.
Fayre childe of beauty! glorious lampe of love!
That all the hoſt of heaven in rankes dooſt lead,
And guideſt lovers through the nights ſad dread,[e]

[e] *the nights ſad dread.*] This epithet was wanting till the firſt folio was publiſhed. Todd. We are not at all convinced of the neceſſity for "ſad;" Spenſer may have written "nightës," as a diſſyllable, a not at all unuſual practice with him. However, as ſome alteration muſt be made, we follow the folio 1611. C.

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How chearefully thou lookeſt from above,
And ſeemſt to laugh atweene thy twinkling light,
As joying in the ſight
Of theſe glad many, which for joy do ſing,
That all the woods them anſwer, and their echo ring.

Now ceaſſe, ye damſels, your delights forepaſt;
Enough is it that all the day was youres:
Now day is doen, and night is nighing faſt,
Now bring the Bryde into the brydall bowres.
The night is come, now ſoone her diſaray,
And in her bed her lay;
Lay her in lillies and in violets,
And ſilken courteins over her diſplay,
And odourd ſheets, and Arras coverlets.
Behold how goodly my faire love does ly,
In proud humility!
Like unto Maia, when as Jove her took
In Tempe, lying on the flowry gras,
Twixt ſleepe and wake, after ſhe weary was,
With bathing in the Acidalian brooke.
Now it is night, ye damſels may be gone,
And leave my love alone;
And leave likewiſe your former lay to ſing:
The woods no more ſhal anſwer, nor your echo ring.

Now welcome, night! thou night ſo long expected,
That long daies labour doeſt at laſt defray,
And all my cares, which cruell love collected,
Haſt ſumd in one, and cancelled for aye:
Spread thy broad wing over my love and me,
That no man may us ſee;
And in thy ſable mantle us enwrap,
From feare of perrill and foule horror free.
Let no falſe treaſon ſeeke us to entrap,

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Nor any dread diſquiet once annoy
The ſafety of our joy;
But let the night be calme and quietſome,
Without tempeſtuous ſtorms or ſad afray:
Lyke as when Jove with fayre Alcmena lay,
When he begot the great Tirynthian groome:
Or lyke as when he with thy ſelfe did lie,
And begot Majeſty.
And let the mayds and yongmen ceaſe to ſing;
Ne let the woods them anſwer, nor theyr eccho ring.

Let no lamenting cryes, nor dolefull teares,
Be heard all night within, nor yet without:
Ne let falſe whiſpers, breeding hidden feares,
Breake gentle ſleepe with miſconceived dout.
Let no deluding dreames, nor dreadful ſights,
Make ſudden ſad affrights;
Ne let houſefyres, nor lightnings helpleſs harmes,
Ne let the Pouke,[f] nor other evill ſprights,
Ne let miſchivous witches with theyr charmes,
Ne let hob goblins, names whoſe ſenſe we ſee not,
Fray us with things that be not;
Let not the ſhriech Owle, nor the Storke, be heard;
Nor the night Raven, that ſtill deadly yels;
Nor damned ghoſts, cald up with mighty ſpels;
Nor grieſly vultures make us once affeard:
Ne let th' unpleaſant quyre of Frogs ſtill croking
Make us to wiſh theyr choking.

[f] *Ne let the Pouke.*] We are perſuaded that *Ponke*, the reading of the old impreſſions, ought to be "Pouke," as we have printed it, and it was always written and printed ſo of old, excepting, we believe, in this inſtance: the turning of the letter *u* was the origin of a blunder, which has till now continued in Spenſer's text. The "Pouke" is the *Puck* of whom Shakeſpeare made ſuch uſe: he was alſo ſometimes called Robin Goodfellow and *Hob-goblin;* but Spenſer ſpeaks of "hob goblins" ſeparately afterwards. C.

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Let none of theſe theyr drery accents ſing;
Ne let the woods them anſwer, nor theyr eccho ring.

But let ſtil Silence trew night watches keepe,
That ſacred peace may in aſſurance rayne,
And tymely ſleep, when it is tyme to ſleepe,
May poure his limbs forth on your pleaſant playne;
The whiles an hundred little winged loves,
Like divers fethered doves,
Shall fly and flutter round about the bed,
And in the ſecret darke, that none reproves
Their prety ſtealthes ſhall worke, and ſnares ſhal ſpread
To filch away ſweet ſnatches of delight,
Conceald through covert night.
Ye ſonnes of Venus, play your ſports at will;
For greedy pleaſure, careleſſe of your toyes,
Thinks more upon her paradiſe of joyes,
Then what ye do, albe it good or ill.
All night therefore attend your merry play,
For it will ſoone be day:
Now none doth hinder you, that ſay or ſing;
Ne will the woods now anſwer, nor your Eccho ring.

Who is the ſame, which at my window peepes,
Or whoſe is that faire face that ſhines ſo bright?
Is it not Cinthia, ſhe that never ſleepes,
But walkes about high heaven al the night?
O, fayreſt goddeſſe! do thou not envy
My Love with me to ſpy;
For thou likewiſe didſt love, though now unthought,
And for a fleece of woll, which privily
The Latmian ſhephard[8] once unto thee brought,

[8] *The Latmian ſhephard.*] It is "*Latinian* ſhephard" in the firſt edition. Of courſe, the alluſion is to Endymion, reſpecting whoſe loves Drayton wrote and printed a ſeparate poem in 1594, under the title of "Endymion and Phœbe," of which only one copy is known. C.

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His pleaſures with thee wrought.
Therefore to us be favorable now;
And ſith of wemens labours thou haſt charge,
And generation goodly doſt enlarge,
Encline thy will t' effect our wiſhfull vow,
And the chaſt womb informe with timely ſeed,
That may our comfort breed:
Till which we ceaſe our hopefull hap to ſing;
Ne let the woods us anſwere, nor our Eccho ring.

And thou, great Juno, which with awful might
The lawes of wedlock ſtill doſt patronize,
And the religion of the faith firſt plight
With ſacred rites haſt taught to ſolemnize;
And eke for comfort often called art
Of women in their ſmart;
Eternally bind thou this lovely band,
And all thy bleſſings unto us impart.
And thou, glad Genius, in whoſe gentle hand
The bridale bowre and geniall bed remaine,
Without blemiſh or ſtaine;
And the ſweet pleaſures of theyr loves delight
With ſecret ayde doeſt ſuccour and ſupply,
Till they bring forth the fruitfull progeny;
Send us the timely fruit of this ſame night:
And thou, fayre Hebe, and thou, Hymen free,
Grant that it may ſo be!
Till which we ceaſe your further prayſe to ſing;
Ne any woods ſhal anſwer, nor your Eccho ring.

And ye high heavens, the temple of the gods,
In which a thouſand torches flaming bright
Doe burne, that to us wretched earthly clods
In dreadful darkneſſe lend deſired light;
And all ye powers which in the ſame remayne,

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More than we men can fayne,
Poure out your bleſſing on us plentiouſly,
And happy influence upon us raine,
That we may raiſe a large poſterity,
Which from the earth, which they may long poſſeſſe
With laſting happineſſe,
Up to your haughty pallaces may mount:
And, for the guerdon of theyr glorious merit,
May heavenly tabernacles there inherit,
Of bleſſed Saints for to increaſe the count.
So let us reſt, ſweet love, in hope of this,
And ceaſe till then our tymely joyes to ſing,
The woods no more us anſwer, nor our eccho ring.

Song! made in lieu of many ornaments,
With which my love ſhould duly have been deck,
Which cutting off through haſty accidents,
Ye would not ſtay your dew time to expect,
But promiſt both to recompens;
Be unto her a goodly ornament,
And for ſhort time an endleſſe moniment!

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FOWRE HYMNES,

MADE BY

EDM. SPENSER.

LONDON,

Printed for William Ponſonby.

1596.

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To the Right Honorable and moſt vertuous Ladies, the LADIE MARGARET, *Counteſſe of Cumberland; and the* LADIE MARIE, *Counteſſe of Warwick.*[a]

HAVING, in the greener times of my youth, compoſed theſe former two Hymnes in the praiſe of Love and Beautie, and finding that the ſame too much pleaſed thoſe of like age and diſpoſition, which, being too vehemently caried with that kind of affection, do rather ſucke out poyſon to their ſtrong paſſion, then honey to their honeſt delight, I was moved, by the one of you two moſt excellent Ladies, to call in the ſame. But, being unable ſo to doe, by reaſon that many copies thereof were formerly ſcattered abroad, I reſolved at leaſt to amend, and, by way of retractation, to reforme them, making, in ſtead of thoſe two Hymnes of earthly or naturall love and beautie, two others of heavenly and celeſtiall. The which I doe dedicate joyntly unto you two honorable ſiſters, as to the moſt excellent and rare ornaments of all true love and beautie, both in the one and the other kinde; humbly beſeeching you to vouchſafe the patronage of them, and to accept this my humble ſervice, in lieu of the great graces and honourable favours which ye dayly ſhew unto me, until ſuch time as I may, by better meanes, yeeld you ſome more notable teſtimonie of my thankfull mind and dutifull devotion. And even ſo I pray for your happineſſe. Greenwich this firſt of September, 1596. Your Honors moſt bounden ever,

in all humble ſervice,

ED. SP.

---

[a] *Marie, Counteſſe of Warwick.*] Her name was not Mary, but Anne: this miſtake was pointed out by Malone; but it ſtands Marie in the old editions. In the body of the epiſtle Todd read *retraction* for "retractation" of all the early copies. C.

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AN HYMNE IN HONOUR OF LOVE. 1596

LOVE, that long ſince haſt to thy mighty powre
Perforce ſubdude my poore captived hart,
And raging now therein with reſtleſſe ſtowre,
Doeſt tyrannize in everie weaker part,
Faine would I ſeeke to eaſe my bitter ſmart
By any ſervice I might do to thee,
Or ought that elſe might to thee pleaſing bee.

And now t' aſſwage the force of this new flame,
And make thee more propitious in my need,
I meane to ſing the praiſes of thy name,
And thy victorious conqueſts to areed,
By which thou madeſt many harts to bleed
Of mighty Victors, with wide wounds embrewed,
And by thy cruell darts to thee ſubdewed.

Onely I fear my wits, enfeebled late
Through the ſharpe ſorrowes which thou haſt me bred,
Should faint, and words ſhould faile me to relate
The wondrous triumphs of thy great godhed:
But if thou wouldſt vouchſafe to overſpred

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Me with the ſhadow of thy gentle wing,
I ſhould enabled be thy actes to ſing.

Come, then, O come! thou mightie God of love,
Out of thy ſilver bowres and ſecret bliſſe,
Where thou doeſt ſit in Venus lap above,
Bathing thy wings in her ambroſiall kiſſe,
That ſweeter farre than any nectar is;
Come ſoftly, and my feeble breaſt inſpire
With gentle furie, kindled of thy fire.

And ye, ſweet Muſes, which have often proved
The piercing points of his avengefull darts;
And ye, fair Nimphs, which oftentimes have loved
The cruell worker of your kindly ſmarts,
Prepare your ſelves, and open wide your harts
For to receive the triumph of your glorie,
That made you merie oft when ye were ſorie.

And ye, faire bloſſoms of youths wanton breed,
Which in the conqueſts of your beautie boſt,
Wherewith your lovers feeble eyes you feed,
But ſterve their harts that needeth nourture moſt,
Prepare your ſelves to march amongſt his hoſt,
And all the way this ſacred Hymne do ſing,
Made in the honor of your Soveraigne king.

Great God of might, that reigneſt in the mynd,
And all the bodie to thy heſt doeſt frame,
Victor of gods, ſubduer of mankynd,
That doeſt the Lions and fell Tigers tame,
Making their cruell rage thy ſcornefull game,
And in their roring taking great delight,
Who can expreſſe the glorie of thy might?

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Or who alive can perfectly declare
The wondrous cradle of thine infancie,
When thy great mother Venus firſt thee bare,
Begot of Plenty and of Penurie,
Though elder then thine own nativitie,
And yet a chyld, renewing ſtill thy yeares,
And yet the eldeſt of the heavenly Peares?

For ere this worlds ſtill moving mightie maſſe
Out of great Chaos ugly priſon crept,
In which his goodly face long hidden was
From heavens view, and in deepe darkneſſe kept,
Love, that had now long time ſecurely ſlept
In Venus lap, unarmed then and naked,
Gan reare his head, by Clotho being waked:

And taking to him wings of his own heate,
Kindled at firſt from heavens life-giving fyre,
He gan to move out of his idle ſeate;
Weakely at firſt, but after with deſyre
Lifted aloft, he gan to mount up hyre,
And, like freſh Eagle, made his hardie flight
Through all that great wide waſt, yet wanting light.

Yet wanting light to guide his wandring way,
His own faire mother, for all creatures ſake,
Did lend him light from her owne goodly ray:
Then through the world his way he gan to take,
The world that was not till he did it make,
Whoſe ſundrie parts he from them ſelves did ſever,
The which before had lyen confuſed ever.

The earth, the ayre, the water, and the fyre,
Then gan to raunge them ſelves in huge array,
And with contrary forces to conſpyre

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Each againſt other by all meanes they may,
Threatning their owne confuſion and decay:
Ayre hated earth, and water hated fyre,
Till Love relented their rebellious yre.

He then them tooke, and, tempering goodly well
Their contrary diſlikes with loved meanes,
Did place them all in order, and compell
To keepe them ſelves within their ſundrie raines,
Together linkt with adamantine chaines;
Yet ſo, as that in every living wight
They mix themſelves, and ſhew their kindly might.

So ever ſince they firmely have remained,
And duly well obſerved his beheaſt;
Through which now all theſe things that are contained
Within this goodly cope, both moſt and leaſt,
Their being have, and daily are increaſt
Through ſecret ſparks of his infuſed fyre,
Which in the barraine cold he doth inſpyre.

Thereby they all do live, and moved are
To multiply the likeneſſe of their kynd,
Whileſt they ſeeke onely, without further care,
To quench the flame which they in burning fynd;
But man that breathes a more immortall mynd,
Not for luſts ſake, but for eternitie,
Seekes to enlarge his laſting progenie.

For having yet in his deducted ſpright
Some ſparks remaining of that heavenly fyre,
He is enlumind with that goodly light,
Unto like goodly ſemblant to aſpyre:
Therefore in choice of love he doth deſyre

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That ſeemes on earth moſt heavenly to embrace;
That ſame is Beautie, borne of heavenly race.

For ſure, of all that in this mortall frame
Contained is, nought more divine doth ſeeme,
Or that reſembleth more th' immortall flame
Of heavenly light, than Beauties glorious beam.
What wonder then, if with ſuch rage extreme
Fraile men, whoſe eyes ſeek heavenly things to ſee,
At ſight thereof ſo much enraviſht bee!

Which well perceiving, that imperious boy
Doth therewith tip his ſharp empoiſned darts,
Which glancing thro the eyes with countenance coy[b]
Reſt not till they have pierſt the trembling harts,
And kindled flame in all their inner parts,
Which ſuckes the blood, and drinketh up the lyfe,
Of carefull wretches with conſuming griefe.

Thenceforth they playne, and make ful piteous mone
Unto the author of their balefull bane:
The daies they waſte, the nights they grieve and grone,
Their lives they loath, and heavens light diſdaine:
No light but that, whoſe lampe doth yet remaine
Freſh burning in the image of their eye,
They deigne to ſee, and ſeeing it ſtill dye.

The whylſt thou, tyrant Love, doeſt laugh and ſcorne
At their complaints, making their paine thy play,
Whyleſt they lye languiſhing like thrals forlorne,
The whyles thou doeſt triumph in their decay;
And otherwhyles, their dying to delay,

[b] *with countenance coy.*] Read rather, "*from* count'nance coy." T. Warton. All the old editions have "with." C.

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Thou doeſt emmarble the proud hart[c] of her
Whoſe love before their life they doe prefer.

So haſt thou often done (ay me, the more!)
To me thy vaſſall, whoſe yet bleeding hart
With thouſand wounds thou mangled haſt ſo ſore,
That whole remaines ſcarſe any little part;
Yet, to augment the anguiſh of my ſmart,
Thou haſt enfroſen her diſdainefull breſt,
That no one drop of pitie there doth reſt.

Why then do I this honor unto thee,
Thus to ennoble thy victorious name,
Sith thou doeſt ſhew no favour unto mee,
Ne once move ruth in that rebellious Dame,
Somewhat to ſlacke the rigour of my flame?
Certes ſmall glory doeſt thou winne hereby,
To let her live thus free, and me to dy.

But if thou be indeede, as men thee call,
The worlds great Parent, the moſt kind preſerver
Of living wights, the ſoveraine Lord of all,
How falles it then that with thy furious fervour
Thou doeſt afflict as well the not deſerver,
As him that doeth thy lovely heaſts deſpize,
And on thy ſubjects moſt doth tyrannize?

Yet herein eke thy glory ſeemeth more,
By ſo hard handling thoſe which beſt thee ſerve,

[c] *Thou doeſt emmarble the proud hart.*] This elegant and expreſſive verb is unnoticed by all our lexicographers. Todd. Todd himſelf altered it to *enmarble*, in his edit. of Johnſon: Richardſon has "emmarble," and obſerves that in ſome impreſſions of Spenſer it ſtands *enmarble:* it is not ſo in any of the ancient copies. Whether we take it as "emmarble," or *enmarble*, Spenſer is, we apprehend, the only writer who has uſed the word. C.

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That, ere thou doeſt them unto grace reſtore,
Thou mayeſt well trie if they will ever ſwerve,[d]
And mayeſt them make it better to deſerve,
And, having got it, may it more eſteeme;
For things hard gotten men more dearely deeme.

So hard thoſe heavenly beauties be enfyred,
As things divine leaſt paſſions doe impreſſe,
The more of ſtedfaſt mynds to be admyred,
The more they ſtayed be on ſtedfaſtneſſe;
But baſeborne minds ſuch lamps regard the leſſe,
Which at firſt blowing take not haſtie fyre:
Such fancies feele no love, but looſe deſyre.

For love is Lord of truth and loialtie,
Lifting himſelfe out of the lowly duſt
On golden plumes up to the pureſt ſkie,
Above the reach of loathly ſinfull luſt,
Whoſe baſe affect through cowardly diſtruſt
Of his weake wings dare not to heaven fly,
But like a moldwarpe in the earth doth ly.

His dunghill thoughts, which do themſelves enure
To dirtie droſſe, no higher dare aſpyre,
Ne can his feeble earthly eyes endure
The flaming light of that celeſtiall fyre
Which kindleth love in generous deſyre,
And makes him mount above the native might
Of heavie earth, up to the heavens hight.

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[d] *if they will ever ſwerve.*] Todd here read, "if *thou wilt* ever ſwerve," which does not at all expreſs the meaning of the poet. So, in the firſt line of the next ſtanza, he printed "thoſe heavenly beauties *be* enfyred," which is alſo evidently wrong. The old copies are uniform in giving the true text, and Todd would probably have noted the variations had they not been accidental in his edition. C.

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Such is the powre of that ſweet paſſion,
That it all ſordid baſeneſſe doth expell,
And the refyned mynd doth newly faſhion
Unto a fairer forme, which now doth dwell
In his high thought, that would it ſelfe excell,
Which he beholding ſtill with conſtant ſight,
Admires the mirrour of ſo heavenly light.

Whoſe image printing in his deepeſt wit,
He thereon feeds his hungrie fantaſy,
Still full, yet never ſatisfyde with it;
Like Tantale that in ſtore doth ſterved ly,
So doth he pine in moſt ſatiety;
For nought may quench his infinite deſyre,
Once kindled through that firſt conceived fyre.

Thereon his mynd affixed wholly is,
Ne thinks on ought but how it to attaine;
His care, his joy, his hope, is all on this,
That ſeemes in it all bliſſes to containe,
In ſight whereof all other bliſſe ſeemes vaine:
Thrice happie man! might he the ſame poſſeſſe,
He faines himſelfe, and doth his fortune bleſſe.

And though he do not win his wiſh to end,
Yet thus farre happie he him ſelfe doth weene,
That heavens ſuch happie grace did to him lend,
As thing on earth ſo heavenly to have ſeene
His harts enſhrined ſaint, his heavens queene,
Fairer then faireſt, in his fayning eye,
Whoſe ſole aſpect he counts felicitye.

Then forth he caſts in his unquiet thought,
What he may do, her favour to obtaine;
What brave exploit, what perill hardly wrought,

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What puiſſant conqueſt, what adventurous paine,
May pleaſe her beſt, and grace unto him gaine:
He dreads no danger, nor misfortune feares,
His faith, his fortune, in his breaſt he beares.

Thou art his god, thou art his mightie guyde,
Thou, being blind, letſt him not ſee his feares,
But carieſt him to that which he had eyde,
Through ſeas, through flames, through thouſand ſwords and ſpeares;
Ne ought ſo ſtrong that may his force withſtand,
With which thou armeſt his reſiſtleſſe hand.

Witneſſe Leander in the Euxine waves,
And ſtout Æneas in the Trojane fyre,
Achilles preaſſing through the Phrygian glaives,[e]
And Orpheus, daring to provoke the yre
Of damned fiends, to get his love retyre;
For both through heaven and hell thou makeſt way,
To win them worſhip which to thee obay.

And if by all theſe perils, and theſe paynes,
He may but purchaſe lyking in her eye,
What heavens of joy then to himſelfe he faynes!
Eftſoones he wypes quite out of memory
What ever ill before he did aby:
Had it bene death, yet would he die againe,
To live thus happie as her grace to gaine.

Yet when he hath found favour to his will,
He nathemore can ſo contented reſt,
But forceth further on, and ſtriveth ſtill

[e] *through the Phrygian glaives.*] *Swords.* See the notes on F. Q. iv. vii. 28 [vol. iii. p. 203]. Todd.

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T' approch more neare, till in her inmoſt breſt
He may emboſomd bee and loved beſt;
And yet not beſt, but to be lov'd alone,
(For love cannot endure a Paragone.)

The fear whereof, O! how doth it torment
His troubled mynd with more than helliſh paine;
And to his fayning fanſie repreſent
Sights never ſeene, and thouſand ſhadowes vaine,
To breake his ſleepe, and waſte his ydle braine:
Thou that haſt never lov'd canſt not beleeve
Leaſt part of th' evils which poore lovers greeve.

The gnawing envie, the hart-fretting feare,
The vaine ſurmizes, the diſtruſtfull ſhowes,
The falſe reports that flying tales doe beare,
The doubts, the daungers, the delayes, the woes,
The fayned friends, the unaſſured foes,
With thouſands more then any tongue can tell,
Doe make a lovers life a wretches hell.

Yet is there one more curſed then they all,
That cancker-worme, that monſter, Geloſie,
Which eates the heart and feedes upon the gall,
Turning all loves delight to miſerie,
Through feare of looſing his felicitie.
Ah, Gods! that ever ye that monſter placed
In gentle love, that all his joyes defaced!

By theſe, O Love! thou doeſt thy entrance make
Unto thy heaven, and doeſt the more endeere
Thy pleaſures unto thoſe which them partake:
As after ſtormes, when clouds begin to cleare,
The Sunne more bright and glorious doth appeare,

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So thou thy folke, through paines of Purgatorie,
Doſt beare unto thy bliſſe, and heavens glorie.

There thou them placeſt in a Paradize
Of all delight and joyous happy reſt,
Where they doe feede on nectar heavenly wize,
With Hercules and Hebe, and the reſt
Of Venus dearlings, through her bountie bleſt;
And lie like Gods in yvorie beds arayd,
With roſe and lillies over them diſplayd.

There with thy daughter Pleaſure they doe play
Their hurtleſſe ſports, without rebuke or blame,
And in her ſnowy boſome boldly lay
Their quiet heads, devoyd of guilty ſhame,
After full joyance of their gentle game;
Then her they crowne their Goddeſſe and their Queene,
And decke with floures thy altars well beſeene.

Ay me! deare Lord, that ever I might hope,
For all the paines and woes that I endure,
To come at length unto the wiſhed ſcope
Of my deſire, or might my ſelfe aſſure
That happie port for ever to recure!
Then would I thinke theſe paines no paines at all,
And all my woes to be but penance ſmall.

Then would I ſing of thine immortall praiſe
An heavenly Hymne, ſuch as the Angels ſing,
And thy triumphant name then would I raiſe
Bove all the gods, thee only honoring;
My guide, my god, my victor, and my king:
Till then, dread Lord! vouchſafe to take of me
This ſimple ſong, thus fram'd in praiſe of thee.

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AN HYMNE IN HONOUR OF BEAUTIE.

AH! whither, Love, wilt thou now carrie mee?
What wontleſſe fury doſt thou now inſpire
Into my feeble breaſt, too full of thee?
Whyleſt ſeeking to aſlake thy raging fyre,
Thou in me kindleſt much more great deſyre,
And up aloft above my ſtrength doth rayſe
The wondrous matter of my fyre to prayſe.

That as I earſt, in praiſe of thine owne name,
So now in honour of thy Mother deare,
An honourable Hymne I eke ſhould frame,
And with the brightneſſe of her beautie cleare,
The raviſht hearts of gazefull men might reare
To admiration of that heavenly light,
From whence proceeds ſuch ſoule enchaunting might.

Therto do thou, great Goddeſſe! queene of Beauty,
Mother of Love, and of all worlds delight,
Without whoſe ſoverayne grace and kindly dewty
Nothing on earth ſeemes fayre to fleſhly ſight,
Doe thou vouchſafe with thy love-kindling light
T' illuminate my dim and dulled eyne,
And beautifie this ſacred hymne of thyne:

That both to thee, to whom I meane it moſt,
And eke to her, whoſe faire immortall beame
Hath darted fyre into my feeble ghoſt,
That now it waſted is with woes extreame,

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It may ſo pleaſe, that ſhe at length will ſtreame[t]
Some deaw of grace into my withered hart,
After long ſorrow and conſuming ſmart.

WHAT TIME THIS WORLDS GREAT WORKMAISTER did caſt
To make al things ſuch as we now behold,
It ſeems that he before his eyes had plaſt
A goodly Paterne, to whoſe perfect mould
He faſhiond them as comely as he could,
That now ſo faire and ſeemely they appeare,
As nought may be amended any wheare.

That wondrous Paterne, whereſoere it bee,
Whether in earth layd up in ſecret ſtore,
Or elſe in heaven, that no man may it ſee
With ſinfull eyes, for feare it to deflore,
Is perfect Beautie, which all men adore;
Whoſe face and feature doth ſo much excell
All mortall ſence, that none the ſame may tell.

Thereof as every earthly thing partakes
Or more or leſſe, by influence divine,
So it more faire accordingly it makes,
And the groſſe matter of this earthly myne,
Which cloſeth it thereafter, doth refyne,
Doing away the droſſe which dims the light
Of that faire beame which therein is empight.

For through infuſion of celeſtiall powre,
The duller earth it quickneth with delight,
And life-full ſpirits privily doth powre

[t] *that ſhe at length will ſtreame.*] *Send forth*, as in ver. 56—"Thou into them doſt *ſtreame*." TODD.

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Through all the parts, that to the lookers ſight
They ſeeme to pleaſe. That is thy ſoveraine might,
O Cyprian queene! which, flowing from the beame
Of thy bright ſtarre, thou into them doeſt ſtreame.

That is the thing which giveth pleaſant grace
To all things faire, that kindleth lively fyre,
Light of thy lampe; which, ſhyning in the face,
Thence to the ſoule darts amorous deſyre,
And robs the harts of thoſe which it admyre:
Therewith thou pointeſt thy Sons poyſned arrow,
That wounds the life, and waſtes the inmoſt marrow.

How vainely then doe ydle wits invent,
That beautie is nought elſe but mixture made
Of colours faire, and goodly temp'rament
Of pure complexions, that ſhall quickly fade
And paſſe away, like to a ſommers ſhade;
Or that it is but comely compoſition
Of parts well meaſurd with meet diſpoſition!

Hath white and red in it ſuch wondrous powre,
That it can pierce through th' eyes unto the hart,
And therein ſtirre ſuch rage and reſtleſſe ſtowre,
As nought but death can ſtint his dolours ſmart?
Or can proportion of the outward part
Move ſuch affection in the inward mynd,
That it can rob both ſenſe and reaſon blynd?

Why doe not then the bloſſomes of the field,
Which are arayd with much more orient hew,
And to the ſenſe moſt daintie odours yield,
Worke like impreſſion in the lookers vew?
Or why doe not faire pictures like powre ſhew,

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In which oft-times we Nature ſee of Art
Exceld, in perfect limming every part?

But ah! beleeve me there is more then ſo,
That workes ſuch wonders in the minds of men;
I, that have often prov'd, too well it know,
And who ſo liſt the like aſſayes to ken,
Shall find by trial, and confeſſe it then,
That Beautie is not, as fond men miſdeeme,
An outward ſhew of things that onely ſeeme:

For that ſame goodly hew of white and red,
With which the cheekes are ſprinckled, ſhal decay,
And thoſe ſweete roſy leaves, ſo fairly ſpred
Upon the lips, ſhall fade and fall away
To that they were, even to corrupted clay:
That golden wyre, thoſe ſparckling ſtars ſo bright,
Shall turne to duſt, and looſe their goodly light.

But that faire lampe, from whoſe celeſtiall ray
That light proceedes, which kindleth lovers fire,
Shall never be extinguiſht nor decay;
But, when the vitall ſpirits doe expyre,
Unto her native planet ſhall retyre,
For it is heavenly borne and cannot die,
Being a parcell of the pureſt ſkie.

For when the ſoule, the which derived was
At firſt out of that great immortall Spright
By whom all live to love, whilome did pas
Down from the top of pureſt heavens hight
To be embodied here, it then tooke light
And lively ſpirits from that fayreſt ſtarre
Which lights the world forth from his firie carre.

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Which powre retayning ſtill or more or leſſe,
When ſhe in fleſhly ſeede is eft enraced,
Through every part ſhe doth the ſame impreſſe,
According as the heavens have her graced;
And frames her houſe, in which ſhe will be placed,
Fit for her ſelfe, adorning it with ſpoyle
Of th' heavenly riches which ſhe robd erewhyle.

Thereof it comes that theſe faire ſoules, which have
The moſt reſemblance of that heavenly light,
Frame to themſelves moſt beautifull and brave
Their fleſhly bowre, moſt fit for their delight,
And the groſſe matter by a ſoveraine might
Tempers ſo trim, that it may well be ſeene
A pallace fit for ſuch a virgin Queene.

So every ſpirit, as it is moſt pure,
And hath in it the more of heavenly light,
So it the fairer bodie doth procure
To habit in, and it more fairely dight
With chearefull grace and amiable ſight:
For of the ſoule the bodie forme doth take;
For ſoule is forme, and doth the bodie make.

Therefore where ever that thou doeſt behold
A comely corpſe, with beautie faire endewed,
Know this for certaine, that the ſame doth hold
A beauteous ſoule, with fair conditions thewed,
Fit to receive the ſeede of vertue ſtrewed;
For all that faire is, is by nature good:
That is a ſigne to know the gentle blood.

Yet oft it falles that many a gentle mynd
Dwels in deformed tabernacle drownd,
Either by chaunce, againſt the courſe of kynd,

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Or through unaptneſſe in the ſubſtance fownd;
Which it aſſumed of ſome ſtubborne grownd,
That will not yield unto her formes direction,
But is perform'd with ſome foule imperfection.

And oft it falles, (ay me, the more to rew!)
That goodly beautie, albe heavenly borne,
Is foule abuſd, and that celeſtiall hew,
Which doth the world with her delight adorne,
Made but the bait of ſinne, and ſinners ſcorne,
Whileſt every one doth ſeeke and ſew to have it,
But every one doth ſeeke but to deprave it.

Yet nathemore is that faire beauties blame,
But theirs that do abuſe it unto ill:
Nothing ſo good, but that through guilty ſhame
May be corrupt, and wreſted unto will.
Natheleſſe the ſoule is faire and beauteous ſtill,
However fleſhes fault it filthy make;
For things immortall no corruption take.

But ye, faire Dames! the worlds deare ornaments,
And lively images of heavens light,
Let not your beames with ſuch diſparagements
Be dimd, and your bright glorie darkned quight;
But, mindfull ſtill of your firſt countries ſight,
Doe ſtill preſerve your firſt informed grace,
Whoſe ſhadow yet ſhynes in your beauteous face.

Loath that foule blot, that helliſh fierbrand,
Diſloiall luſt, fair beauties fouleſt blame,
That baſe affections, which your eares would bland
Commend to you by loves abuſed name,
But is indeede the bondſlave of defame;

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Which will the garland of your glorie marre,
And quench the light of your bright ſhyning ſtarre.

But gentle love, that loiall is and trew,
Will more illumine your reſplendent ray,
And adde more brightneſſe to your goodly hew,
From light of his pure fire; which, by like way
Kindled of yours, your likeneſſe doth diſplay:
Like as two mirrours, by oppoſd reflection,
Doe both expreſſe the faces firſt impreſſion.

Therefore, to make your beautie more appeare,
It you behoves to love, and forth to lay
That heavenly riches which in you ye beare,
That men the more admyre their fountaine may;
For elſe what booteth that celeſtiall ray,
If it in darkneſſe be enſhrined ever,
That it of loving eyes be vewed never?

But, in your choice of loves, this well advize,
That likeſt to your ſelves ye them ſelect,
The which your forms firſt ſourſe may ſympathize,
And with like beauties parts be inly deckt;
For if you looſely love without reſpect,
It is not love, but a diſcordant warre,
Whoſe unlike parts amongſt themſelves do jarre:

For love is a celeſtiall harmonie
Of likely harts compoſd of ſtarres concent,
Which joyne together in ſweete ſympathie,
To work ech others joy and true content,
Which they have harbourd ſince their firſt deſcent
Out of their heavenly bowres, where they did ſee
And know ech other here belov'd to bee.

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Then wrong it were that any other twaine
Should in loves gentle band combyned bee,
But thoſe whom heaven did at firſt ordaine,
And made out of one mould the more t' agree:
For all that like the beautie which they ſee
Streight do not love; for love is not ſo light
As ſtreight to burne at firſt beholders ſight.

But they which love indeede looke otherwiſe
With pure regard and ſpotleſſe true intent,
Drawing out of the object of their eyes
A more refyned forme, which they preſent
Unto their mind voide of all blemiſhment;
Which it reducing to her firſt perfection,
Beholdeth free from fleſhes frayle infection.

And then conforming it unto the light,
Which in it ſelfe it hath remaining ſtill,
Of that firſt Sunne, yet ſparckling in his ſight,
Thereof he faſhions in his higher ſkill
An heavenly beautie to his fancies will;
And it embracing in his mind entyre,
The mirrour of his owne thought doth admyre.

Which ſeeing now ſo inly faire to be,
As outward it appeareth to the eye,
And with his ſpirits proportion to agree,
He thereon fixeth all his fantaſie,
And fully ſetteth his felicitie;
Counting it fairer then it is indeede,
And yet indeede her fairneſſe doth exceede.

For lovers eyes more ſharply ſighted bee
Then other mens, and in deare loves delight
See more then any other eyes can ſee,

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Through mutuall receipt of beames bright,
Which carrie privie meſſage to the ſpright;
And to their eyes that inmoſt faire diſplay,
As plaine as light diſcovers dawning day.

Therein they ſee, through amorous eye-glaunces,
Armies of Loves ſtill flying too and fro,
Which dart at them their litle fierie launces;
Whom having wounded, backe againe they go,
Carrying compaſſion to their lovely foe;
Who, ſeeing her faire eyes ſo ſharpe effect,
Cures all their ſorrowes with one ſweete aſpect.

In which how many wonders doe they reede
To their conceipt, that others never ſee!
Now of her ſmiles, with which their ſoules they feede,
Like Gods with nectar in their bankets free;
Now of her lookes, which like to cordials bee:
But when her words embaſſade forth ſhe ſends,
Lord, how ſweete muſicke that unto them lends!

Sometimes upon her forhead they behold
A thouſand graces maſking in delight;
Sometimes within her eye-lids they unfold
Ten thouſand ſweet belgards, which to their ſight
Doe ſeeme like twinckling ſtarres in froſtie night;
But on her lips, like roſy buds in May,
So many millions of chaſte pleaſures play.

All thoſe, O Cytherea! and thouſands more
Thy handmaides be, which do on thee attend
To decke thy beautie with their dainties ſtore,
That may it more to mortall eyes commend,
And make it more admyr'd of foe and frend;

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That in mens harts thou mayſt thy throne enſtall,
And ſpred thy lovely kingdome over all.

Then Iō, tryumph! O great beauties Queene,
Advance the banner of thy conqueſt hie,
That all this world, the which thy vaſſals beene,
May draw to thee, and with dew fealtie
Adore the powre of thy great Majeſtie,
Singing this Hymne in honour of thy name,
Compyld by me which thy poore liegeman am!

In lieu whereof graunt, O great Soveraine!
That ſhe, whoſe conquering beauty doth captive
My trembling hart in her eternall chaine,
One drop of grace at length will to me give,
That I her bounden thrall by her may live,
And this ſame life, which firſt fro me ſhe reaved,
May owe to her, of whom I it receaved.

And you faire Venus dearling, my dear dread!
Freſh flowre of grace, great Goddeſſe of my life,
When your faire eyes theſe fearefull lines ſhal read,
Deigne to let fall one drop of dew reliefe,
That may recure my harts long pyning griefe,
And ſhew what wondrous powre your beauty hath,
That can reſtore a damned wight from death.

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AN HYMNE OF HEAVENLY LOVE.[s]

OVE, lift me up upon thy golden wings
From this baſe world unto thy heavens hight,
Where I may ſee thoſe admirable things
Which there thou workeſt by thy ſoveraine might,
Farre above feeble reach of earthly ſight,
That I thereof an heavenly Hymne may ſing
Unto the god of Love, high heavens king.

Many lewd layes (ah, woe is me the more!)
In praiſe of that mad fit which fooles call love,
I have in th' heat of youth made heretofore,
That in light wits did looſe affection move;
But all thoſe follies now I do reprove,
And turned have the tenor of my ſtring,
The heavenly prayſes of true love to ſing.

And ye that wont with greedy vaine deſire
To reade my fault, and wondring at my flame,
To warme your ſelves at my wide ſparckling fire,

---

[s] *An Hymne of heavenly Love.*] See the ſixth canto of the third Book of the F. Q., eſpecially the ſecond, and the thirty-ſecond ſtanzas [vol. ii. pp. 445, 455]; which, with his "Hymnes of Heavenly Love" and "Heavenly Beauty," are evident proofs of Spenſer's attachment to the Platonic School. The notions of his friend, Sir P. Sidney, who, with many others of that age, had a ſtrong Platonic caſt, perhaps contributed not a little to fix Spenſer's choice on the ſubject of the "Hymnes." Take Sir Philip's own words in his "Defence of Poeſie:"—"That lyrical kind of ſongs and ſonnets—which—how well it might be employed, and with how heavenly fruits both in publicke and private, in ſinging the praiſes of the 'immortal Beauty.'" T. WARTON.

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Sith now that heat is quenched, quench my blame,
And in her aſhes ſhrowd my dying ſhame,
For who my paſſed follies now purſewes,
Beginnes his owne, and my old fault renewes.

BEFORE THIS WORLDS GREAT FRAME,[h] in which al things
Are now containd, found any being place,
Ere flitting Time could wag his eyas wings[i]
About that mightie bound which doth embrace
The rolling Spheres, and parts their houres by ſpace,
That high eternall powre, which now doth move
In all theſe things, mov'd in it ſelfe by love.

It lovd it ſelfe, becauſe it ſelfe was faire;
(For fair is lov'd;) and of it ſelfe begot
Like to it ſelfe his eldeſt ſonne and heire,
Eternall, pure, and voide of ſinfull blot,
The firſtling of his joy, in whom no jot
Of loves diſlike or pride was to be found,
Whom he therefore with equall honour crownd.

With him he raignd, before all time preſcribed,
In endleſſe glorie and immortall might,
Together with that third from them derived,
Moſt wiſe, moſt holy, moſt almightie Spright!
Whoſe kingdomes throne no thoughts of earthly wight

[h] *Before this worlds great frame,* &c.] The following Hymn contains a remarkable mixture of the Chriſtian and Platonic doctrines and expreſſions. This, however, was not uncommon among our writers in Spenſer's time. At a period very little later, the ſame ſtudy appears to have excited great attention abroad: ſee a moſt elaborate and curious work, entitled "Chriſtianæ Theologiæ cum Platonica Comparatio, &c. Bononiæ, 1627." fol. TODD.

[i] *could wag his eyas wings.*] His wings as yet imperfectly fledged, not *unfledged*, as Todd interprets the word "eyas." See F. Q. vol. ii. p. 59, where, in a note, this line is quoted. C.

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Can comprehend, much leſſe my trembling verſe
With equall words can hope it to reherſe.

Yet, O moſt bleſſed Spirit! pure lampe of light,
Eternall ſpring of grace and wiſedome trew,
Vouchſafe to ſhed into my barren ſpright
Some little drop of thy celeſtiall dew,
That may my rymes with ſweet infuſe embrew,
And give me words equall unto my thought,
To tell the marveiles by thy mercie wrought.

Yet being pregnant ſtill with powrefull grace,
And full of fruitfull love, that loves to get
Things like himſelfe, and to enlarge his race,
His ſecond brood, though not of powre ſo great,
Yet full of beautie, next he did beget,
An infinite increaſe of Angels bright,
All gliſtring glorious in their Makers light.

To them the heavens illimitable hight
(Not this round heaven, which we from hence behold,
Adornd with thouſand lamps of burning light,
And with ten thouſand gemmes of ſhyning gold)
He gave as their inheritance to hold,
That they might ſerve him in eternal blis,
And be partakers of thoſe joyes of his.

There they in their trinall triplicities
About him wait, and on his will depend,
Either with nimble wings to cut the ſkies,
When he them on his meſſages doth ſend,
Or on his owne dread preſence to attend,
Where they behold the glorie of his light,
And caroll Hymnes of love both day and night.

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Both day, and night, is unto them all one;
For he his beames doth unto them extend,
That darkneſſe there appeareth never none;
Ne hath their day, ne hath their bliſſe, an end,
But there their termeleſſe time in pleaſure ſpend:
Ne ever ſhould their happineſſe decay,
Had not they dar'd their Lord to diſobay.

But pride, impatient of long reſting peace,
Did puffe them up with greedy bold ambition,
That they gan caſt their ſtate how to increaſe
Above the fortune of their firſt condition,
And ſit in Gods own ſeat without commiſſion:
The brighteſt Angel, even the child of light,
Drew millions more againſt their God to fight.

Th' Almighty, ſeeing their ſo bold aſſay,
Kindled the flame of his conſuming yre,
And with his onely breath them blew away
From heavens hight, to which they did aſpyre,
To deepeſt hell, and lake of damned fyre,
Where they in darkneſſe and dread horror dwell,
Hating the happie light from which they fell.

So that next off-ſpring of the Makers love,
Next to himſelfe in glorious degree,
Degendering to hate,[1] fell from above
Through pride, (for pride and love may ill agree)
And now of ſinne to all enſample bee;
How then can ſinfull fleſh it ſelfe aſſure,
Sith pureſt Angels fell to be impure?

[1] *Degendering to hate.*] *Degenerating.* See the note on the Introduction to F. Q. B. 5. St. 2 [vol. iii. p. 306]. Todd.

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But that eternall fount of love and grace,
Still flowing forth his goodneſſe unto all,
Now ſeeing left a waſte and emptie place
In his wyde pallace, through thoſe Angels fall,
Caſt to ſupply the ſame, and to enſtall
A new unknowen Colony therein,
Whoſe root from earths baſe groundworke ſhold begin.

Therefore of clay, baſe, vile, and next to nought,
Yet form'd by wondrous ſkill, and by his might,
According to an heavenly patterne wrought,
Which he had faſhiond in his wiſe foreſight,
He man did make; and breathd a living ſpright
Into his face, moſt beautifull and fayre,
Endewd with wiſedomes riches, heavenly, rare.

Such he him made, that he reſemble might
Himſelfe, as mortall thing immortall could:
Him to be lord of every living wight
He made by love out of his owne like mould,
In whom he might his mightie ſelfe behould;[k]
For love doth love the thing belov'd to ſee,
That like it ſelfe in lovely ſhape may bee.

But man, forgetfull of his Makers grace
No leſſe then Angels, whom he did enſew,
Fell from the hope of promiſt heavenly place,
Into the mouth of death, to ſinners dew,
And all his off-ſpring into thraldome threw,
Where they for ever ſhould in bonds remaine
Of never dead yet ever dying paine.

Till that great Lord of Love, which him at firſt
Made of meere love, and after liked well,

[k] *his mightie ſelfe behould.*] Why Todd placed a hyphen between "ſelfe" and "behould"—*ſelfe-behould*—we cannot imagine. C.

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Seeing him lie like creature long accurſt
In that deep horor of deſpeyred hell,
Him, wretch, in doole would let no lenger dwell,
But caſt out of that bondage to redeeme,
And pay the price, all were his debt extreeme.

Out of the boſome of eternall bliſſe,
In which he reigned with his glorious Syre,
He downe deſcended, like a moſt demiſſe[1]
And abject thrall, in fleſhes fraile attyre,
That he for him might pay ſinnes deadly hyre,
And him reſtore unto that happie ſtate
In which he ſtood before his hapleſſe fate.

In fleſh at firſt the guilt committed was,
Therefore in fleſh it muſt be ſatisfyde;
Nor ſpirit, nor Angel, though they man ſurpas,
Could make amends to God for mans miſguyde,
But onely man himſelfe, who ſelfe did ſlyde:
So, taking fleſh of ſacred virgins wombe,
For mans deare ſake he did a man become.

And that moſt bleſſed bodie, which was borne
Without all blemiſh or reprochfull blame,
He freely gave to be both rent and torne
Of cruell hands, who with deſpightfull ſhame
Revyling him, that them moſt vile became,
At length him nailed on a gallow tree,
And ſlew the juſt by moſt unjuſt decree.

O huge and moſt unſpeakeable impreſſion
Of loves deep wound, that pierſt the piteous hart

[1] *like a moſt demiſſe.*] *Humble.* Lat. *demiſſus.* TODD.

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Of that deare Lord with ſo entyre affection,
And ſharply launching every inner part,
Dolours of death into his ſoule did dart,
Doing him die that never it deſerved,
To free his foes, that from his heaſt had ſwerved!

What hart can feel leaſt touch of ſo ſore launch,
Or thought can think the depth of ſo deare wound,
Whoſe bleeding ſourſe their ſtreames yet never ſtaunch,
But ſtil do flow, and freſhly ſtill redound
To heale the ſores of ſinfull ſoules unſound,
And clenſe the guilt of that infected cryme
Which was enrooted in all fleſhly ſlyme?

O bleſſed well of love! O floure of grace!
O glorious Morning-Starre! O lampe of Light!
Moſt lively image of thy Fathers face,
Eternal King of Glorie, Lord of might,
Meeke Lambe of God, before all worlds behight,
How can we thee requite for all this good?
Or what can prize that thy moſt precious blood?

Yet nought thou aſk'ſt in lieu of all this love,
But love of us for guerdon of thy paine:
Ay me! what can us leſſe then that behove?
Had he required life for us againe,
Had it beene wrong to aſk his owne with gaine?
He gave us life, he it reſtored loſt;
Then life were leaſt, that us ſo little coſt.

But he our life hath left unto us free,
Free that was thrall, and bleſſed that was band;[m]

[m] *and bleſſed that was band.*] i. e. and bleſſed that was *curſed.* See Mr. Upton's note, F. Q. v. xi. 12. [vol. iv. p. 5]. Todd.

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Ne ought demaunds but that we loving bee,
As he himſelfe hath lov'd us aforehand,
And bound therto with an eternall band,
Him firſt to love that was ſo dearely bought,
And next our brethren, to his image wrought.

Him firſt to love great right and reaſon is,
Who firſt to us our life and being gave,
And after, when we fared had amiſſe,
Us wretches from the ſecond death did ſave;
And laſt, the food of life, which now we have,
Even he himſelfe, in his deare ſacrament,
To feede our hungry ſoules, unto us lent.

Then next, to love our brethren that were made
Of that ſelfe mould, and that ſelf Maker's hand,
That we, and to the ſame againe ſhall fade,
Where they ſhall have like heritage of land,
How ever here on higher ſteps we ſtand,
Which alſo were with ſelfe ſame price redeemed
That we, how ever of us light eſteemed.

And were they not, yet ſince that loving Lord
Commaunded us to love them for his ſake,
Even for his ſake, and for his ſacred word,
Which in his laſt bequeſt he to us ſpake,
We ſhould them love, and with their needs partake;
Knowing that, whatſoere to them we give,
We give to him by whom we all doe live.

Such mercy he by his moſt holy reede
Unto us taught, and to approve it trew,
Enſampled it by his moſt righteous deede,
Shewing us mercie, miſerable crew!
That we the like ſhould to the wretches ſhew,

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And love our brethren; thereby to approve
How much himſelfe that loved us we love.

Then rouze thy ſelfe, O earth! out of thy ſoyle,
In which thou walloweſt like to filthy ſwyne,
And doeſt thy mynd in durty pleaſures moyle,[n]
Unmindfull of that deareſt Lord of thyne;
Lift up to him thy heavie clouded eyne,
That thou this ſoveraine bountie mayſt behold,
And read through love his mercies manifold.

Beginne from firſt, where he encradled was
In ſimple cratch,[o] wrapt in a wad of hay,
Betweene the toylfull Oxe and humble Aſſe,
And in what rags, and in how baſe aray,
The glory of our heavenly riches lay,
When him the ſilly Shepheards came to ſee,
Whom greateſt Princes ſought on loweſt knee.

From thence reade on the ſtorie of his life,
His humble carriage, his unfaulty wayes,
His cancred foes, his fights, his toyle, his ſtrife,
His paines, his povertie, his ſharpe aſſayes,
Through which he paſt his miſerable dayes,
Offending none, and doing good to all,
Yet being maliſt both by great and ſmall.

And looke at laſt, how of moſt wretched wights
He taken was, betrayd, and falſe accuſed,

[n] *in durty pleaſures moyle.*] *Defile.* See Cotgrave in V: "To moyle, *ſouiller*, &c. to ſoyle, to defile." Hence the expreſſion, to which Spenſer here alludes, "*Se ſouiller*, of a ſwine, i. e. to take ſoyle, or wallow in the mire." TODD.

[o] *In ſimple cratch.*] See Cotgrave in V: "*Creiche*, a CRATCH, racke, ox-ſtall, or crib, &c." TODD. Biſhop Hall, as Richardſon ſhows, ſpeaks of "Bethlehem's *cratch*" in his anthem on Chriſtmas-day. The Fr. *creiche*, or *creicche*, is from the Lat. *crates*. C.

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How with moſt ſcornfull taunts, and fell deſpights
He was revyld, diſgraſt, and foule abuſed;
How ſcourgd, how crownd, how buffeted, how bruſed;
And, laſtly, how twixt robbers crucifyde,
With bitter wounds through hands, through feet, and ſyde!

Then let thy flinty hart, that feeles no paine,
Empierced be with pittifull remorſe,
And let thy bowels bleede in every vaine,
At ſight of his moſt ſacred heavenly corſe,
So torne and mangled with malicious forſe;
And let thy ſoule, whoſe ſins his ſorrows wrought,
Melt into teares, and grone in grieved thought.

With ſence whereof, whileſt ſo thy ſoftened ſpirit
Is inly toucht, and humbled with meeke zeale
Through meditation of his endleſſe merit,
Lift up thy mind to th' Author of thy weale,
And to his ſoveraine mercie doe appeale;
Learne him to love that loved thee ſo deare,
And in thy breſt his bleſſed image beare.

With all thy hart, with all thy ſoule and mind,
Thou muſt him love, and his beheaſts embrace:
All other loves, with which the world doth blind
Weake fancies, and ſtirre up affections baſe,
Thou muſt renounce and utterly diſplace,
And give thy ſelfe unto him full and free,
That full and freely gave himſelfe to thee.

Then ſhalt thou feele thy ſpirit ſo poſſeſt,
And raviſht with devouring great deſire
Of his deare ſelfe, that ſhall thy feeble breſt
Inflame with love, and ſet thee all on fire

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With burning zeale, through every part entire,
That in no earthly thing thou ſhalt delight,
But in his ſweet and amiable ſight.

Thenceforth all worlds deſire will in thee dye,
And all earthes glorie, on which men do gaze,
Seeme durt and droſſe in thy pure ſighted eye,
Compar'd to that celeſtiall beauties blaze,
Whoſe glorious beames all fleſhly ſenſe doth daze
With admiration of their paſſing light,
Blinding the eyes, and lumining the ſpright.

Then ſhall thy raviſht ſoul inſpired bee
With heavenly thoughts, farre above humane ſkil,
And thy bright radiant eyes ſhall plainely ſee
Th' Idee of his pure glorie preſent ſtill
Before thy face, that all thy ſpirits ſhall fill
With ſweete enragement of celeſtiall love,
Kindled through ſight of thoſe faire things above.

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AN HYMNE ON HEAVENLY BEAUTIE.

RAPT with the rage of mine owne raviſht thought,
Through contemplation of thoſe goodly ſights,
And glorious Images in heaven wrought,
Whoſe wondrous beauty, breathing ſweet delights,
Do kindle love in high conceipted ſprights,
I faine to tell the things that I behold,
But feele my wits to faile, and tongue to fold.[p]

Vouchſafe then, O thou moſt Almightie Spright!
From whom all guifts of wit and knowledge flow,
To ſhed into my breaſt ſome ſparkling light
Of thine eternall Truth, that I may ſhow
Some little beames to mortall eyes below
Of that immortall beautie, there with thee,
Which in my weake diſtraughted mynd[q] I ſee;

That with the glorie of ſo goodly ſight
The hearts of men, which fondly here admyre

---

[p] *and tongue to fold.*] Poſſibly the poet here means that we ſhould take "fold" in the ſenſe of *fault* or *falter*, and not that his tongue literally *doubled*, or folded. C.

[q] *my weake diſtraughted mynd.*] *Diſtracted* mind. So, in Chaucer's "Lament. Marie Magd." ver. 149, edit. Urr.—

"Whiche rufull ſight when that I gan beholde,
"Out of my witte I almoſt tho *diſtraught*,
"I tare my here, &c."

TODD. Few words are of more frequent occurrence in our old poets. C.

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Faire ſeeming ſhewes, and feed on vaine delight,
Tranſported with celeſtiall deſyre
Of thoſe faire formes, may lift themſelves up hyer,
And learne to love, with zealous humble dewty,
Th' eternall fountaine of that heavenly beauty.

Beginning then below, with th' eaſie vew
Of this baſe world, ſubject to fleſhly eye,
From thence to mount aloft, by order dew,
To contemplation of th' immortall ſky,
Of the ſoare Faulcon ſo I learne to flye,
That flags a while her fluttering wings beneath,
Till ſhe her ſelfe for ſtronger flight can breath.

Then looke, who liſt thy gazefull eyes to feed
With ſight of that is faire, looke on the frame
Of this wyde Univerſe, and therein reed
The endleſſe kinds of creatures which by name
Thou canſt not count, much leſs their natures aime;
All which are made with wondrous wiſe reſpect,
And all with admirable beautie deckt.

Firſt, th' Earth, on adamantine pillers founded
Amid the Sea, engirt with braſen bands;
Then th' Aire ſtill flitting, but yet firmely bounded
On everie ſide, with pyles of flaming brands
Never conſum'd, nor quencht with mortall hands;
And, laſt, that mightie ſhining criſtall wall,
Wherewith he hath encompaſſed this All.

By view whereof it plainly may appeare,
That ſtill as every thing doth upward tend,
And further is from earth, ſo ſtill more cleare
And faire it growes, till to his perfect end
Of pureſt beautie it at laſt aſcend;

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Ayre more then water, fire much more then ayre,
And heaven then fire appeares more pure and fayre.

Looke thou no further, but affixe thine eye
On that bright ſhynie round ſtill moving maſſe,
The houſe of bleſſed God, which men call Skye,
All ſowd with gliſtring ſtars more thicke then graſſe,
Whereof each other doth in brightneſſe paſſe,
But thoſe two moſt, which, ruling night and day,
As King and Queene the heavens empire ſway;

And tell me then, what haſt thou ever ſeene
That to their beautie may compared bee,
Or can the ſight that is moſt ſharpe and keene
Endure their Captaines[r] flaming head to ſee?
How much leſſe thoſe, much higher in degree,
And ſo much fairer, and much more than theſe,
As theſe are fairer then the land and ſeas?

For farre above theſe heavens, which here we ſee,
Be others farre exceeding theſe in light,
Not bounded, not corrupt, as theſe ſame bee,
But infinite in largeneſſe and in hight,
Unmoving, uncorrupt, and ſpotleſſe bright,
That need no Sunne t' illuminate their ſpheres,
But their owne native light farre paſſing theirs.

And as theſe heavens ſtill by degrees arize,
Until they come to their firſt Movers bound,
That in his mightie compaſſe doth comprize,
And carrie all the reſt with him around;
So thoſe likewiſe doe by degrees redound,

[r] *Endure their Captaines.*] *The ſun's.* T. Warton.

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And riſe more faire, till they at laſt arive
To the moſt faire, whereto they all do ſtrive.

Faire is the heaven where happy ſoules have place
In full enjoyment of felicitie,
Whence they doe ſtill behold the glorious face
Of the divine eternall Majeſtie;
More faire is that, where thoſe Idees on hie
Enraunged be, which Plato ſo admyred,
And pure Intelligences from God inſpyred.

Yet fairer is that heaven, in which do raine
The ſoveraigne Powres and mightie Potentates,
Which in their high protections doe containe
All mortall Princes and imperiall States;
And fayrer yet, whereas the royall Seates
And heavenly Dominations are ſet,
From whom all earthly governance is fet.

Yet farre more faire be thoſe bright Cherubins,
Which all with golden wings are overdight,
And thoſe eternall burning Seraphins,
Which from their faces dart out fierie light;
Yet fairer then they both, and much more bright,
Be th' Angels and Archangels, which attend
On Gods owne perſon without reſt or end.

Theſe thus in faire each other farre excelling,
As to the Higheſt they approach more near,
Yet is that Higheſt farre beyond all telling,
Fairer then all the reſt which there appeare,
Though all their beauties joyn'd together were;
How then can mortall tongue hope to expreſſe
The image of ſuch endleſſe perfectneſſe?

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Ceaſe then, my tongue, and lend unto my mynd
Leave to bethinke how great that beautie is,
Whoſe utmoſt parts ſo beautifull I fynd;
How much more thoſe eſſentiall parts of his,
His truth, his love, his wiſedome, and his blis,
His grace, his doome, his mercy, and his might,
By which he lends us of himſelfe a ſight.

Thoſe unto all he daily doth diſplay,
And ſhew himſelfe in th' image of his grace,
As in a looking-glaſſe, through which he may
Be ſeene of all his creatures vile and baſe,
That are unable elſe to ſee his face,
His glorious face! which gliſtereth elſe ſo bright,
That th' Angels ſelves can not endure his ſight.

But we, fraile wights! whoſe ſight cannot ſuſtaine
The ſuns bright beames[a] when he on us doth ſhyne,
But that their points rebutted backe againe
Are duld, how can we ſee with feeble eyne
The glorie of that Majeſtie divine,
In ſight of whom both ſun and moone are darke,
Compared to his leaſt reſplendent ſparke?

The meanes, therefore, which unto us is lent
Him to behold, is on his workes to looke,
Which he hath made in beauty excellent,
And in the ſame, as in a brazen booke,
To read enregiſtred in every nooke
His goodneſſe, which his beautie doth declare;
For all thats good is beautifull and faire.

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[a] *The ſuns bright beames.*] The folio 1611 improperly alters the text here to "The *ſun-bright* beames," &c. C.

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Thence gathering plumes of perfect ſpeculation
To impe the wings of thy high flying mynd,
Mount up aloft, through heavenly contemplation,
From this darke world, whoſe damps the ſoule do blynd,
And, like the native brood of Eagles kynd,
On that bright Sunne of glorie fixe thine eyes,
Clear'd from groſſe miſts of fraile infirmities.

Humbled with feare and awfull reverence,
Before the footeſtoole of his Majeſtie
Throw thy ſelfe downe, with trembling innocence,
Ne dare looke up with corruptible eye
On the dred face of that great Deity,
For feare, leſt if he chaunce to look on thee,
Thou turne to nought, and quite confounded be.

But lowly fall before his mercie ſeate,
Cloſe covered with the Lambes integrity
From the juſt wrath of his avengefull threate
That ſits upon the righteous throne on hy:
His throne is built upon Eternity,
More firme and durable then ſteele or braſſe,
Or the hard diamond which them both doth paſſe.

His ſcepter is the rod of Righteouſneſſe,
With which he bruſeth all his foes to duſt,
And the great Dragon ſtrongly doth repreſſe,
Under the rigour of his judgment juſt;
His ſeate is Truth, to which the faithfull truſt,
From whence proceed her beames ſo pure and bright,
That all about him ſheddeth glorious light:

Light, farre exceeding that bright blazing ſparke
Which darted is from Titans flaming head,
That with his beames enlumineth the darke

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And dampiſh air,[t] wherby al things are red;
Whoſe nature yet ſo much is marvelled
Of mortall wits, that it doth much amaze
The greateſt Wiſards[u] which thereon do gaze.

But that immortall light, which there doth ſhine,
Is many thouſand times more bright, more cleare,
More excellent, more glorious, more divine,
Through which to God all mortall actions here,
And even the thoughts of men, do plaine appeare;
For from th' eternall Truth it doth proceed,
Through heavenly vertue which her beames doe breed.

With the great glorie of that wondrous light
His throne is all encompaſſed around,
And hid in his owne brightneſſe from the ſight
Of all that looke thereon with eyes unſound;
And underneath his feet are to be found
Thunder, and lightning, and tempeſtuous fyre,
The inſtruments of his avenging yre.

There in his boſome Sapience doth ſit,
The ſoveraine dearling of the Deity,
Clad like a Queene in royall robes, moſt fit
For ſo great powre and peereleſſe majeſty,
And all with gemmes and jewels gorgeouſly
Adornd, that brighter then the ſtarres appeare,
And make her native brightnes ſeem more cleare.

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[t] *And dampiſh air.*] Here again there is a trifling and unnoticed change in the folio 1611, which has "And *darke damp* ayre." C.

[u] *The greateſt Wiſards.*] *Wiſe men.* So the counſellors of Lucifera's dominion are ſtyled, F. Q. i. iv. 12 [vol. i. p. 230], &c. And ſo the ancient philoſophers are called, F. Q. iv. xii. 2 [vol. iii. p. 293]. And Milton employs the word in the ſame way. T. WARTON.

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And on her head a crown of pureſt gold
Is ſet, in ſigne of higheſt ſoverainty;
And in her hand a ſcepter ſhe doth hold,
With which ſhe rules the houſe of God on hy,
And menageth the ever-moving ſky,
And in the ſame theſe lower creatures all
Subjected to her powre imperiall.

Both heaven and earth obey unto her will,
And all the creatures which they both containe;
For of her fulneſſe, which the world doth fill,
They all partake, and do in ſtate remaine
As their great Maker did at firſt ordaine,
Through obſervation of her high beheaſt,
By which they firſt were made, and ſtill increaſt.

The fairneſſe of her face no tongue can tell;
For ſhe the daughters of all wemens race,
And Angels eke, in beautie doth excell,
Sparkled on her from Gods owne glorious face,
And more increaſt by her owne goodly grace,
That it doth farre exceed all humane thought,
Ne can on earth compared be to ought.

Ne could that Painter (had he lived yet)
Which pictured Venus with ſo curious quill,
That all poſteritie admyred it,
Have purtray'd this, for all his maiſtring ſkill;
Ne ſhe her ſelfe, had ſhe remained ſtill,
And were as faire as fabling wits do fayne,
Could once come neare this beauty ſoverayne.

But had thoſe wits, the wonders of their dayes,
Or that ſweete Teian poet,[x] which did ſpend

[x] *that ſweete Teian poet.*] Anacreon. T. WARTON.

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His plenteous vaine in ſetting forth her praiſe,
Seen but a glims of this which I pretend,
How wondrouſly would he her face commend,
Above that Idole of his fayning thought,
That all the world ſhould with his rimes be fraught!

How then dare I, the novice of his art,
Preſume to picture ſo divine a wight,
Or hope t' expreſſe her leaſt perfections part,
Whoſe beautie filles the heavens with her light,
And darkes the earth with ſhadow of her ſight?
Ah, gentle Muſe! thou art too weake and faint
The pourtraict of ſo heavenly hew to paint.

Let Angels, which her goodly face behold
And ſee at will, her ſoveraigne praiſes ſing,
And thoſe moſt ſacred myſteries unfold
Of that faire love of mightie heavens King;
Enough is me t' admyre ſo heavenly thing,
And, being thus with her huge love poſſeſt,
In th' only wonder of her ſelfe to reſt.

But whoſo may, thriſe happie man him hold
Of all on earth whom God ſo much doth grace,
And lets his owne Beloved to behold;
For in the view of her celeſtiall face
All joy, all bliſſe, all happineſſe, have place;
Ne ought on earth can want unto the wight
Who of her ſelfe can win the wiſhfull ſight.

For ſhe, out of her ſecret threaſury,
Plentie of riches forth on him will powre,
Even heavenly riches, which there hidden ly
Within the cloſet of her chaſteſt bowre,

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Th' eternall portion of her precious dowre,
Which mighty God hath given to her free,
And to all thoſe which thereof worthy bee.

None thereof worthy be, but thoſe whom ſhee
Vouchſafeth to her preſence to receave,
And letteth them her lovely face to ſee,
Wherof ſuch wondrous pleaſures they conceave,
And ſweete contentment, that it doth bereave
Their ſoul of ſenſe, through infinite delight,
And them tranſport from fleſh into the ſpright.

In which they ſee ſuch admirable things,
As carries them into an extaſy,
And heare ſuch heavenly notes and carolings
Of Gods high praiſe, that filles the braſen ſky;
And feele ſuch joy and pleaſure inwardly,
That maketh them all worldly cares forget,
And onely thinke on that before them ſet.

Ne from thenceforth doth any fleſhly ſenſe,
Or idle thought of earthly things, remaine;
But all that earſt ſeemd ſweet ſeemes now offenſe,
And all that pleaſed earſt now ſeemes to paine:[y]
Their joy, their comfort, their deſire, their gaine,
Is fixed all on that which now they ſee;
All other ſights but fayned ſhadowes bee.

And that faire lampe which uſeth to enflame
The hearts of men with ſelfe-conſuming fyre,
Thenceforth ſeemes fowle, and full of ſinfull blame;
And all that pompe to which proud minds aſpyre

[y] *now ſeemes to paine.*] "Now ſeemes *a* paine" in the folio 1611. C.

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By name of honor, and ſo much deſyre,
Seemes to them baſeneſſe, and all riches droſſe,
And all mirth ſadneſſe, and all lucre loſſe.

So full their eyes are of that glorious ſight,
And ſenſes fraught with ſuch ſatietie,
That in nought elſe on earth they can delight,
But in th' aſpect of that felicitie,
Which they have written in theyr inward ey;
On which they feed, and in theyr faſtened mynd
All happie joy and full contentment fynd.

Ah, then, my hungry Soule! which long haſt fed
On idle fancies of thy fooliſh thought,
And with falſe beauties flattring bait miſled,
Haſt after vaine deceiptfull ſhadowes ſought,
Which all are fled, and now have left thee nought
But late repentance through thy follies prief;
Ah! ceaſſe to gaze on matter of thy grief:

And looke at laſt up to that ſoveraine light,
From whoſe pure beams al perfect beauty ſprings,
That kindleth love in every godly ſpright,
Even the love of God; which loathing brings
Of this vile world and theſe gay-ſeeming things;
With whoſe ſweet pleaſures being ſo poſſeſt,
Thy ſtraying thoughts henceforth for ever reſt.

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DAPHNAÏDA.

AN ELEGIE

Upon the Death of the noble and vertuous Douglas Howard,
daughter and heire of Henry Lord Howard,
Viſcount Byndon, and wife of
Arthur Gorges, Eſquier.

DEDICATED TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE LADIE
HELENA, MARQUESSE OF NORTHAMPTON.

By ED. SP.

AT LONDON
Printed for William Ponſonby.
1596.

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TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE AND VERTUOUS LADY, HELENA, MARQUESSE OF NORTH-HAMPTON.

I HAVE the rather preſumed humbly to offer unto your Honour the dedication of this little Poëme, for that the noble and vertuous Gentlewoman, of whom it is written, was by match neere alied, and in affection greatly devoted, unto your Ladiſhip. The occaſion why I wrote the ſame, was aswell the great good fame which I heard of her deceaſſed, as the particular goodwill which I beare unto her huſband Maſter Arthur Gorges, a lover of learning and vertue, whoſe houſe, as your Ladiſhip by mariage hath honoured, ſo doe I find the name of them, by many notable records, to be of great antiquitie in this Realme; and ſuch as have ever borne themſelves with honourable reputation to the world, and unſpotted loyaltie to their Prince and Countrey: beſides, ſo lineally are they deſcended from the Howards, as that the Lady Anne Howard, eldeſt daughter to John Duke of Norfolke, was wife to Sir Edmund, mother to Sir Edward, and grandmother to Sir William and Sir Thomas Gorges, Knightes. And therefore I doe aſſure my ſelfe that no due honour done to the White Lyon, but will be moſt gratefull to your Ladiſhip, whoſe huſband and children do ſo neerely participate with the bloud of that noble family. So in all dutie I recommend this Pamphlet, and the good acceptance thereof, to your honourable favour and protection. London, this firſt of Januarie, 1591.

Your Honours humbly ever.

ED. SP.

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DAPHNAIDA.

WHATEVER man he be whoſe heavie mynd,
With griefe of mournefull great miſhap oppreſt,
Fit matter for his cares increaſe would fynd,
Let reade the rufull plaint herein expreſt,
Of one, (I weene) the wofulſt man alive,
Even ſad Alcyon,[a] whoſe empierced breſt
Sharpe ſorrowe did in thouſand peeces rive.

But who ſo elſe in pleaſure findeth ſenſe,
Or in this wretched life dooth take delight,
Let him be baniſht farre away from hence;
Ne let the ſacred Siſters here be hight,
Though they of ſorrowe heavilie can ſing,
For even their heavie ſong would breede delight;
But here no tunes, ſave ſobs and grones, ſhall ring.

In ſtead of them, and their ſweete harmonie,
Let thoſe three fatall Siſters,[b] whoſe ſad hands

---

[a] *Even ſad Alcyon.*] So he names Sir Arthur Gorges in "Colin Clouts come Home again." Todd. See this vol. p. 45. C.

[b] *Let thoſe three fatall Siſters,* &c.] He imitates the invocations of Chaucer, "Tr. and Cr." L. i. 6.—

"Thou Theſiphone, thou helpe me t' endite

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Doe weave the direfull threeds of deſtinie,
And in their wrath breake off the vitall bands,
Approach hereto; and let the dreadfull Queene
Of darkenes deepe come from the Stygian ſtrands,
And griſly Ghoſts, to heare this dolefull teene.[c]

In gloomie evening, when the wearie Sun
After his dayes long labour drew to reſt,
And ſweatie ſteedes, now having over run
The compaſt ſkie, gan water in the weſt,
I walkt abroad to breath the freſhing ayre
In open fields, whoſe flowring pride, oppreſt
With early froſts, had loſt their beautie faire.

There came unto my mind a troublous thought,
Which dayly doth my weaker wit poſſeſſe,
Ne lets it reſt untill it forth have brought
Her long borne Infant, fruit of heavineſſe,
Which ſhe conceived hath through meditation
Of this worlds vainneſſe and life's wretchedneſſe,
That yet my ſoule it deepely doth empaſſion.

So as I muzed on the miſerie
In which men live, and I of many moſt,
Moſt miſerable man; I did eſpie
Where towards me a ſory wight did coſt,
Clad all in black, that mourning did bewray,
And Jacob ſtaffe in hand devoutly croſt,
Like to ſome Pilgrim come from farre away.

" This woful verſe, that wepin as I write:
" To the[e] I clepe, thou goddeſſe of tourment, &c."
See alſo L. iv. 22. And "The Remedie of Love," Prol. 131.—
" Aſpire my ginnyng, O! thou wode Furie,
" Alecto, with thy Siſters, &c." T. WARTON.

[c] *this dolefull teene.*] i. e. this doleful *grief* or *ſorrow:* ſee vol. iii. pp. 300, 304, 314, and many other places. C.

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His careleſſe lockes, uncombed and unſhorne,
Hong long adowne, and beard all over growne,
That well he ſeemd to be ſome wight forlorne:
Downe to the earth his heavie eyes were throwne,
As loathing light; and ever as he went
He ſighed ſoft, and inly deepe did grone,
As if his heart in peeces would have rent.

Approaching nigh, his face I vewed nere,
And by the ſemblant of his countenaunce
Me ſeemd I had his perſon ſeene elſe where,
Moſt like Alcyon ſeeming at a glaunce;
Alcyon he, the jollie Shepheard ſwaine,
That wont full merrilie to pipe and daunce,
And fill with pleaſance every wood and plaine.

Yet halfe in doubt, becauſe of his diſguize,
I ſoftlie ſayd, Alcyon! There withall
He lookt a ſide as in diſdainefull wiſe,
Yet ſtayed not, till I againe did call:
Then, turning back, he ſaide, with hollow ſound,
"Who is it that dooth name me, wofull thrall,
The wretchedſt man that treads this day on ground?"

"One, whom like wofulneſſe, impreſſed deepe,
Hath made fit mate thy wretched caſe to heare,
And given like cauſe with thee to waile and wepe:
Griefe finds ſome eaſe by him that like does beare.
Then ſtay, Alcyon, gentle ſhepheard, ſtay,
(Quoth I) till thou have to my truſtie eare
Committed what thee dooth ſo ill apay."

"Ceaſe, fooliſh man," (ſaide he, halfe wrothfully)
"To ſeeke to heare that which cannot be told,
For the huge anguiſh, which dooth multiplie

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My dying paines, no tongue can well unfold;
Ne doo I care that any ſhould bemone
My hard miſhap, or any weepe that would,
But ſeeke alone to weepe, and dye alone."

" Then be it ſo," (quoth I) " that thou art bent
To die alone, unpitied, unplained;
Yet, ere thou die, it were convenient
To tell the cauſe which thee thereto conſtrained,
Leaſt that the world thee dead accuſe of guilt,
And ſay, when thou of none ſhalt be maintained,
That thou for ſecret crime thy blood haſt ſpilt."

" Who life does loath, and longs to be unbound
From the ſtrong ſhackles of fraile fleſh," (quoth he)
" Nought cares at all what they, that live on ground,
Deeme the occaſion of his death to bee;
Rather deſires to be forgotten quight,
Than queſtion made of his calamitie;
For harts deep ſorrow hates both life and light.

" Yet ſince ſo much thou ſeemſt to rue my griefe,
And car'ſt for one that for himſelfe cares nought,
(Sign of thy love, though nought for my reliefe,
For my reliefe exceedeth living thought)
I will to thee this heavie caſe relate:
Then hearken well till it to end be brought,
For never didſt thou heare more hapleſſe fate.

" Whilome I uſde (as thou right well doeſt know)
My little flocke on weſterne downes to keep,
Not far from whence Sabrinaes ſtreame doth flow,
And flowrie bancks with ſilver liquor ſteepe:
Nought carde I then for worldly change or chaunce,

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For all my joy was on my gentle ſheepe,
And to my pype to caroll and to daunce.

" It there befell, as I the fields did range
Fearleſſe and free, a faire young Lioneſſe,[q]
White as the native Roſe before the chaunge
Which Venus blood did in her leaves impreſſe,
I ſpied playing on the graſſie plaine
Her youthfull ſports and kindlie wantonneſſe,
That did all other Beaſts in beawtie ſtaine.

" Much was I moved at ſo goodly ſight,
Whoſe like before mine eye had ſeldome ſeene,
And gan to caſt how I her compaſſe might,
And bring to hand that yet had never beene.
So well I wrought with mildnes and with paine,
That I her caught diſporting on the greene,
And brought away faſt bound with ſilver chaine.

" And afterwards I handled her ſo fayre,
That though by kind ſhee ſtout and ſalvage were,
For being borne an auncient Lions hayre,
And of the race that all wild beaſtes do feare,
Yet I her fram'd, and wan ſo to my bent,
That ſhee became ſo meeke and milde of cheare,
As the leaſt lamb in all my flock that went:

" For ſhee in field, where ever I did wend,
Would wend with me, and waite by me all day;
And all the night that I in watch did ſpend,
If cauſe requir'd, or els in ſleepe, if nay,
Shee would all night by me or watch or ſleepe;

[q] *a faire young Lioneſſe.*] See the Dedication, [p. 231,] " that no due honour done to the White Lyon," &c. TODD.

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And evermore when I did ſleepe or play,
She of my flock would take full warie keepe.

" Safe then, and ſafeſt were my ſillie ſheepe,
Ne fear'd the Wolfe, ne fear'd the wildeſt beaſt,
All were I drown'd in careleſſe quiet deepe:
My lovely Lioneſſe without beheaſt
So careful was for them, and for my good,
That when I waked, neither moſt nor leaſt
I found miſcaried or in plaine or wood.

" Oft did the Shepheards, which my hap did heare,
And oft their laſſes, which my luck envyde,
Daylie reſort to me from farre and neare,
To ſee my Lyoneſſe, whoſe praiſes wyde
Were ſpred abroad; and when her worthineſſe
Much greater than the rude report they try'de,
They her did praiſe, and my good fortune bleſſe.

" Long thus I joyed in my happineſſe,
And well did hope my joy would have no end;
But oh! fond man! that in worlds fickleneſſe
Repoſedſt hope, or weenedſt her thy frend
That glories moſt in mortall miſeries,
And daylie doth her changefull counſels bend
To make new matter fit for Tragedies;

" For whileſt I was thus without dread or dout,
A cruel Satyre with his murdrous dart,
Greedie of miſchiefe, ranging all about,
Gave her the fatall wound of deadly ſmart,
And reft from me my ſweete companion,
And reft fro me my love, my life, my hart:
My Lyoneſſe (ah, woe is me!) is gon.

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" Out of the world thus was ſhe reft away,
Out of the world, unworthy ſuch a ſpoyle,
And borne to heaven, for heaven a fitter pray,
Much fitter than the Lyon, which with toyle
Alcides ſlew, and fixt in firmament;
Her now I ſeeke throughout this earthly ſoyle,
And ſeeking miſſe, and miſſing doe lament."

Therewith he gan afreſh to waile and weepe,
That I for pittie of his heavie plight
Could not abſtain mine eyes with teares to ſteepe;
But, when I ſaw the anguiſh of his ſpright
Some deale alaid, I him beſpake againe:
" Certes, Alcyon, painefull is thy plight,
That it in me breeds almoſt equall paine.

" Yet doth not my dull wit well underſtand
The riddle of thy loved Lioneſſe;
For rare it ſeemes in reaſon to be ſkand,
That man, who doth the whole worlds rule poſſeſſe,
Should to a beaſt his noble hart embaſe,
And be the vaſſall of his vaſſaleſſe:
Therefore more plain aread this doubtfull caſe."

Then ſighing ſore, " Daphne thou kneweſt," (quoth he)
" She now is dead!" ne more endur'd to ſay,
But fell to ground for great extremitie;
That I, beholding it, with deepe diſmay
Was much appald; and lightly him uprearing
Revoked life that would have fled away,
All were my ſelfe, through grief, in dreadly drearing.

Then gan I him to comfort all my beſt,
And with milde counſaile ſtrove to mitigate
The ſtormie paſſion of his troubled breſt,

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But he thereby was more empaſſionate:
As ſtubborne ſteed, that is with curb reſtrained,
Becomes more fierce and fervent in his gate;
And, breaking foorth at laſt, thus dearnely plained:[e]

I.

" What man henceforth that breatheth vitall aire
Will honour heaven, or heavenly powers adore,
Which ſo unjuſtly doth their judgements ſhare
Mongſt earthly wights, as to afflict ſo ſore
The innocent, as thoſe which do tranſgreſſe,
And doe not ſpare the beſt or faireſt, more
Than worſt or fowleſt, but doe both oppreſſe?

" If this be right, why did they then create
The world ſo faire, ſith faireneſſe is neglected?
Or why be they themſelves immaculate,
If pureſt things be not by them reſpected?
She faire, ſhe pure, moſt faire, moſt pure ſhe was,
Yet was by them as thing impure rejected;
Yet ſhe in pureneſſe heaven it ſelfe did pas.

" In pureneſſe and in all celeſtiall grace,
That men admire in goodly womankind,
She did excell, and ſeem'd of Angels race,
Living on earth like Angell new divinde,[f]
Adorn'd with wiſedome and with chaſtitie,

[e] *thus dearnely plained.* "Dearnely" or *dernly*, is *ſecretly, darkly;* but one of its conſequential ſenſes is *mournfully*, and that ſeems its meaning here. The word is common in Spenſer: ſee vol. ii. pp. 98, 342; vol. iii. p. 73, &c. C.

[f] *like Angell new divinde.*] *Divined* is an odd expreſſion. We meet with it again in "The Ruines of Time," ver. 611 [vol. iv. p. 319], where it ſignifies, I ſuppoſe, to be deified by being made a conſtellation, *to be divin'd, ἀποθεοῦσθαι.* JORTIN. Drayton, as Richardſon ſhows, alſo employs the verb to "divine" in its participle, in Polyolbion, S. 24. C.

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And all the dowries of a noble mind,
Which did her beautie much more beautifie.

" No age hath bred (ſince faire Aſtræa left
The ſinfull world) more vertue in a wight;
And when ſhe parted hence with her ſhe reft
Great hope, and robd her race of bountie quight:
Well may the ſhepheard laſſes now lament,
For doubble loſſe by her hath on them light,
To loſe both her and bounties ornament.

" Ne let Eliſa, royall Shepheardeſſe,
The praiſes of my parted love envy,
For ſhe hath praiſes in all plenteouſneſſe
Powr'd upon her, like ſhowers of Caſtaly,
By her owne Shepheard, Colin,[8] her owne Shepheard,
That her with heavenly hymnes doth deifie,
Of ruſticke muſe full hardly to be betterd.

" She is the Roſe, the glory of the day,
And mine the Primroſe in the lowly ſhade.
Mine, ah! not mine; amiſſe I mine did ſay:
Not mine, but his, which mine a while her made;
Mine to be his, with him to live for ay.
O, that ſo faire a flowre ſo ſoone ſhould fade,
And through untimely tempeſt fall away!

" She fell away in her firſt ages ſpring,
Whilſt yet her leafe was greene, and freſh her rinde,
And whilſt her braunch faire bloſſomes foorth did bring,
She fell away againſt all courſe of kinde:
For age to dye is right, but youth is wrong;

[8] *By her owne Shepheard, Colin.*] We need hardly ſay that Spenſer here alludes to himſelf, and to his laudations of Elizabeth.

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She fell away like fruit blowne downe with winde.
Weepe, Shepheard! weepe, to make my underſong.

II.

" What hart ſo ſtonie hard but that would weepe,
And poure forth fountaines of inceſſant teares?
What Timon but would let compaſſion creepe
Into his breaſt, and pierce his froſen eares?
In ſtead of teares, whoſe brackiſh bitter well
I waſted have, my heart bloud dropping weares,
To think to ground how that faire bloſſome fell.

" Yet fell ſhe not as one enforſt to dye,
Ne dyde with dread and grudging diſcontent,
But as one toyld with travell downe doth lye,
So lay ſhe downe, as if to ſleepe ſhe went,
And cloſde her eyes with careleſſe quietneſſe;
The whiles ſoft death away her ſpirit hent,[h]
And ſoule aſſoyld from ſinfull fleſhlineſſe.

" Yet ere that life her lodging did forſake,
She, all reſolv'd and readie to remove,
Calling to me (ay me!) this wiſe beſpake:
' Alcyon! ah, my firſt and lateſt love!
' Ah! why does my Alcyon weepe and mourne,
' And grieve my ghoſt that ill mote him behove,
' As if to me had chaunſt ſome evill tourne?

' I, ſince the meſſenger is come for mee,
' That ſummons ſoules unto the bridale feaſt
' Of his great Lord, muſt needs depart from thee,
' And ſtraight obay his ſoveraine beheaſt:

[h] *away her ſpirit bent.*] Away her ſpirit *took*, as often before in the F. Q. and elſewhere: ſee vol. ii. p. 108; vol. iii. p. 445, &c. C.

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'Why ſhould Alcyon then ſo ſore lament
'That I from miſerie ſhall be releaſt,
'And freed from wretched long impriſonment?

'Our daies are full of dolour and diſeaſe,
'Our life afflicted with inceſſant paine,
'That nought on earth may leſſen or appeaſe:
'Why then ſhould I deſire here to remaine?
'Or why ſhould he that loves me ſorrie bee
'For my deliverance, or at all complaine
'My good to heare, and toward joyes to ſee?

'I goe, and long deſired have to goe;
'I goe with gladneſſe to my wiſhed reſt,
'Whereas no worlds ſad care, nor waſting woe
'May come their happie quiet to moleſt;
'But Saints and Angels in celeſtiall thrones
'Eternally Him praiſe that hath them bleſt:
'There ſhall I be amongſt thoſe bleſſed ones.

'Yet, ere I goe, a pledge I leave with thee
'Of the late love the which betwixt us paſt,
'My young Ambroſia: in lieu of mee,
'Love her; ſo ſhall our love for ever laſt.
'Thus, deare! adieu, whom I expect ere long.'
"So having ſaid, away ſhe ſoftly paſt.
Weepe, Shepheard! weepe, to make mine underſong.

III.

"So oft as I record thoſe piercing words,
Which yet are deepe engraven in my breſt,
And thoſe laſt deadly accents, which like ſwords
Did wound my heart, and rend my bleeding cheſt,
With thoſe ſweet ſugred ſpeeches doe compare,

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The which my ſoul firſt conquerd and poſſeſt,
The firſt beginners of my endleſſe care:

" And when thoſe pallid cheekes and aſhie hew,
In which ſad Death his pourtraiture had writ,
And when thoſe hollow eyes and deadly view,
On which the cloud of ghaſtly night did ſit,
I match with that ſweete ſmile and chearful brow,
Which all the world ſubdued unto it,
How happie was I then, and wretched now!

" How happie was I, when I ſaw her leade
The ſhepheards daughters dauncing in a rownd!
How trimly would ſhe trace and ſoftly tread
The tender graſſe, with roſye garland crownd!
And when ſhe liſt advaunce her heavenly voyce,
Both Nymphes and Muſes nigh ſhe made aſtownd,
And flocks and ſhepheards cauſed to rejoyce.

" But now, ye Shepheard Laſſes, who ſhall lead
Your wandring troupes, or ſing your virelayes?[1]
Or who ſhall dight your bowres, ſith ſhe is dead
That was the Lady of your holy dayes?
Let now your bliſſe be turned into bale,
And into plaints convert your joyous playes,
And with the ſame fill every hill and dale.

" Let Bagpipe never more be heard to ſhrill,
That may allure the ſenſes to delight,
Ne ever Shepheard ſound his oaten quill
Unto the many, that provoke them might
To idle pleaſance; but let ghaſtlineſſe

[1] *or ſing your virelayes.*] Virelays are *ſpring ſongs:* ſee the note upon the word in vol. iii. p. 22. C.

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And drearie horror dim the chearefull light,
To make the image of true heavineſſe.

" Let birds be ſilent on the naked ſpray,
And ſhady woods reſound with dreadfull yells;
Let ſtreaming floods their haſtie courſes ſtay,
And parching drouth drie up the criſtall wells;
Let th' earth be barren, and bring foorth no flowres,
And th' ayre be fild with noyſe of dolefull knells,
And wandring ſpirits walke untimely howres.

" And Nature, nurſe of every living thing,
Let reſt her ſelfe from her long wearineſſe,
And ceaſe henceforth things kindly forth to bring,[k]
But hideous monſters full of uglineſſe;
For ſhe it is that hath me done this wrong,
No nurſe, but Stepdame, cruell, mercileſſe.
Weepe, Shepheard! weepe, to make my underſong.

IV.

" My litle flocke, whom earſt I lov'd ſo well,
And wont to feed with fineſt graſſe that grew,
Feede ye hencefoorth on bitter Aſtrofell,[l]
And ſtinking Smallage, and unſaverie Rew;
And, when your mawes are with thoſe weeds corrupted,
Be ye the pray of Wolves; ne will I rew
That with your carkaſſes wild beaſts be glutted.

" Ne worſe to you, my ſillie ſheepe, I pray,
Ne ſorer vengeance wiſh on you to fall

[k] *things kindly forth to bring.*] i. e. according to their *kinds* or *natures.* "Kind" is uſed in the ſame way on p. 241. C.

[l] *on bitter Aſtrofell.*] Spenſer ſpells the name Aſtrophel in his poem on the death of Sir P. Sidney; and here poſſibly we ought to read *Aſphodel*, the day-lily. C.

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Than to my ſelfe, for whoſe confuſde decay[m]
To careleſſe heavens I doo daylie call;
But heavens refuſe to heare a wretches cry;
And cruell death doth ſcorne to come at call,
Or graunt his boone that moſt deſires to dye.

" The good and righteous he away doth take,
To plague th' unrighteous which alive remaine;
But the ungodly ones he doth forſake,
By living long to multiplie their paine:
Elſe ſurely death ſhould be no puniſhment,
As the great Judge at firſt did it ordaine,
But rather riddance from long languiſhment.

" Therefore, my Daphne they have tane away;
For worthie of a better place was ſhe;
But me unworthie willed here to ſtay,
That with her lacke I might tormented be.
Sith then they ſo have ordred, I will pay
Penance to her, according their decree,
And to her ghoſt doe ſervice day by day.

" For I will walke this wandring pilgrimage,
Throughout the world from one to other end,
And in affliction waſte my better age:
My bread ſhall be the anguiſh of my mynd,
My drink the teares which fro mine eyes do raine,
My bed the ground that hardeſt I may fynd;
So will I wilfully increaſe my paine.

" And ſhe, my love that was, my Saint that is,

[m] *for whoſe confuſde decay.*] The epithet " confuſed" thus applied is peculiar: perhaps it is to be taken in the ſenſe of *commingled*, when the ſpeaker's duſt ſhould be " confuſed" with the earth, or with the duſt of the ſubject of his lamentation—*con* and *fundere*. C.

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When ſhe beholds from her celeſtiall throne
(In which ſhee joyeth in eternall blis)
My bitter penance, will my caſe bemone,
And pittie me that living thus doo die;
For heavenly ſpirits have compaſſion
On mortall men, and rue their miſerie.

" So when I have with ſorrow ſatisfyde
Th' importune fates, which vengeance on me ſeeke,
And th' heavens with long languor pacifyde,
She, for pure pitie of my ſufferance meeke,
Will ſend for mee; for which I daylie long,
And will till then my painfull penance eeke.
Weepe, Shepheard! weepe, to make my underſong.

V.

" Hencefoorth I hate what ever Nature made,
And in her workmanſhip no pleaſure finde,
For they be all but vaine, and quickly fade;
So ſoone as on them blowes the Northern winde[n]
They tarrie not, but flit and fall away,
Leaving behind them nought but griefe of minde,
And mocking ſuch as thinke they long will ſtay.

" I hate the heaven, becauſe it doth withhould
Me from my love, and eke my love from me;
I hate the earth, becauſe it is the mould
Of fleſhly ſlime and fraile mortalitie;
I hate the fire, becauſe to nought it flyes;
I hate the ayre, becauſe ſighes of it be;
I hate the Sea, becauſe it teares ſupplyes.

[n] *So ſoone as on them blowes the Northern winde.*] From Pſalm ciii. 16: " As for man his days are graſs; as a flower of the field, ſo he flouriſheth: for the wind paſſeth over it, and it is gone." T. WARTON.

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" I hate the day, becauſe it lendeth light
To ſee all things, and not my love to ſee;
I hate the darkneſſe and the dreary night,
Becauſe they breed ſad balefulneſſe in mee;
I hate all times, becauſe all times doo fly
So faſt away, and may not ſtayed bee,
But as a ſpeedie poſt° that paſſeth by.

" I hate to ſpeake, my voyce is ſpent with crying;
I hate to heare, lowd plaints have duld mine eares;
I hate to taſt, for food withholds my dying;
I hate to ſee, mine eyes are dimd with teares;
I hate to ſmell, no ſweet on earth is left;
I hate to feele, my fleſh is numbd with feares:
So all my ſenſes from me are bereft.

" I hate all men, and ſhun all womankinde;
The one, becauſe as I they wretched are;
The other, for becauſe I doo not finde
My love with them, that wont to be their Starre:
And life I hate, becauſe it will not laſt;
And death I hate, becauſe it life doth marre;
And all I hate that is to come or paſt.

" So all the world, and all in it I hate,
Becauſe it changeth ever too and fro,
And never ſtandeth in one certain ſtate,
But ſtill unſtedfaſt round about doth goe,
Like a Millwheele, in midſt of miſerie,
Driven with ſtreames of wretchedneſſe and woe,
That dying lives, and living ſtill does dye.

° *But as a ſpeedie poſt*, &c.] Job ix. 25, " Now my days are ſwifter than a *poſt*." T. WARTON.

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" So doo I live, ſo doo I daylie die,
And pine away in ſelfe-conſuming paine;
Sith ſhe that did my vitall powres ſupplie,
And feeble ſpirits in their force maintaine,
Is fetcht fro me, why ſeeke I to prolong
My wearie daies in dolour and diſdaine?
Weepe, Shepheard! weepe, to make my underſong.

VI.

" Why doo I longer live in lifes deſpight,
And doo not dye then in deſpight of death?
Why doo I longer ſee this loathſome light
And doo in darkneſſe not abridge my breath,
Sith all my ſorrow ſhould have end thereby,
And cares finde quiet? is it ſo uneath
To leave this life, or dolorous to dye?

" To live I finde it deadly dolorous,
For life drawes care, and care continuall woe;
Therefore to dye muſt needes be joyeous,
And wiſhfull thing this ſad life to forgoe.
But I muſt ſtay; I may it not amend,
My Daphne hence departing bad me ſo;
She bad me ſtay, till ſhe for me did ſend.

" Yet, whileſt I in this wretched vale doo ſtay,
My wearie feete ſhall ever wandring be,
That ſtill I may be readie on my way
When as her meſſenger doth come for me;
Ne will I reſt my feete for feebleneſſe,
Ne will I reſt my limmes for frailtie,
Ne will I reſt mine eyes for heavineſſe.

" But, as the mother of the Gods, that ſought
For faire Euridyce, her daughter deere,

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Throghout the world, with wofull heavie thought;
So will I travell whileſt I tarrie heere,
Ne will I lodge, ne will I ever lin,[p]
Ne, when as drouping Titan draweth neere
To looſe his teeme, will I take up my Inne.

" Ne ſleepe (the harbenger of wearie wights)
Shall ever lodge upon mine eye-lids more;
Ne ſhall with reſt refreſh my fainting ſprights,
Nor failing force to former ſtrength reſtore;
But I will wake and ſorrow all the night
With Philumene,[q] my fortune to deplore,
With Philumene, the partner of my plight.

" And ever as I ſee the ſtarre to fall,
And under ground to goe, to give them light
Which dwell in darkneſſe, I to mind will call
How my faire ſtarre (that ſhind on me ſo bright)
Fell ſodainly and faded under ground;
Since whoſe departure day is turnd to night,
And night without a Venus ſtarre is found.

" But ſoon as day doth ſhew his deawie face,
And cals foorth men unto their toylſome trade,
I will withdraw me to ſome darkeſome place,
Or ſome deere cave,[r] or ſolitarie ſhade;

---

[p] *ne will I ever lin.*] Nor will I ever *ceaſe*. We have already had " lin " twice in F. Q.: vol. i. p. 184; vol. ii. p. 389. It occurs again on p. 392 of the ſame vol.: here it is the rhyme to " inne," which in both places merely means an abode or reſidence. C.

[q] *With Philumene,* &c.] Hughes and the modern editions read *Philomel;* having no idea that Spenſer here perhaps had in memory the appellation of the nightingale, in Gaſcoigne's poem, entitled " The Complaint of Philumene," which had been publiſhed in 1576. Todd.

[r] *Or ſome deere cave.*] We more than ſuſpect the omiſſion of the letter *r* in " deere," and that Spenſer wrote " Or ſome *dreere* cave;" but we make no alteration, although Drayton, in his folio 1611, in-

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There will I ſigh, and ſorrow all day long,
And the huge burden of my cares unlade.
Weepe, Shepheard! weepe, to make my underſong.

VII.

" Henceforth mine eyes ſhall never more behold
Faire thing on earth, ne feed on falſe delight
Of ought that framed is of mortall mould,
Sith that my faireſt flower is faded quight;
For all I ſee is vaine and tranſitorie,
Ne will be held in any ſtedfaſt plight,
But in a moment looſe their grace and glorie.

" And ye, fond men! on fortunes wheele that ride,
Or in ought under heaven repoſe aſſurance,
Be it riches, beautie, or honours pride,
Be ſure that they ſhall have no long endurance,
But ere ye be aware will flit away;
For nought of them is yours, but th' only uſance
Of a ſmall time, which none aſcertaine may.

" And ye, true Lovers! whom deſaſtrous chaunce
Hath farre exiled from your Ladies grace,
To mourne in ſorrow and ſad ſufferaunce,
When ye doe heare me in that deſert place
Lamenting loud my Daphnes Elegie,
Helpe me to waile my miſerable caſe,
And when life parts vouchſafe to cloſe mine eye.

" And ye, more happie Lovers! which enjoy
The preſence of your deareſt loves delight,
When ye doe heare my ſorrowfull annoy,

ſerted the letter, ſuppoſed to be miſſing, in his margin, and, by a correſponding mark in the text, indicated where it ought to be inſerted. C.

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Yet pittie me in your empaſſiond ſpright,
And thinke that ſuch miſhap, as chaunſt to me,
May happen unto the moſt happieſt wight;
For all mens ſtates alike unſtedfaſt be.

" And ye, my fellow Shepheards! which do feed
Your careleſſe flockes on hils and open plaines,
With better fortune than did me ſucceed,
Remember yet my undeſerved paines;
And when ye heare that I am dead or ſlaine,
Lament my lot, and tell your fellow ſwaines
That ſad Alcyon dyde in lifes diſdaine.

" And, ye faire Damſels! Shepheards deare delights,
That with your loves do their rude hearts poſſeſſe,
When as my hearſe ſhall happen to your ſightes,
Vouchſafe to deck the ſame with Cypareſſe;
And ever ſprinckle brackiſh teares among,
In pitie of my undeſerv'd diſtreſſe,
The which, I, wretch, endured have thus long.

" And ye poore Pilgrimes! that with reſtleſſe toyle
Wearie your ſelves in wandring deſart wayes,
Till that you come where ye your vowes aſſoyle,
When paſſing by ye reade theſe wofull layes
On my grave written, rue my Daphnes wrong,
And mourne for me that languiſh out my dayes.
Ceaſe, Shepheard! ceaſe, and end thy underſong."—

Thus when he ended had his heavie plaint,
The heavieſt plaint that ever I heard ſound,
His cheekes wext pale, and ſprights began to faint,
As if againe he would have fallen to ground:
Which when I ſaw, I (ſtepping to him light)

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Amooved him out of his ſtonie ſwound,
And gan him to recomfort as I might.

But he no waie recomforted would be,
Nor ſuffer ſolace to approach him nie,
But caſting up a ſdeinfull eie at me,
That in his traunce I would not let him lie,
Did rend his haire, and beat his blubbred face,
As one diſpoſed wilfullie to die,
That I ſore griev'd to ſee his wretched caſe.

Tho when the pang was ſomewhat overpaſt,
And the outragious paſſion nigh appeaſed,
I him deſyrde, ſith daie was overcaſt,
And darke night faſt approched, to be pleaſed
To turne aſide unto my Cabinet,*
And ſtaie with me, till he were better eaſed
Of that ſtrong ſtownd which him ſo ſore beſet.

But by no meanes I could him win thereto,
Ne longer him intreate with me to ſtaie,
But without taking leave he foorth did goe
With ſtaggring pace and diſmall lookes diſmay;
As if that death he in the face had ſeene,
Or helliſh hags had met upon the way:
But what of him became I cannot weene.

---

* *To turne aſide unto my Cabinet.*] "Cabinet" is here the diminutive of *cabin*; but our beſt dictionaries give us no inſtance of the uſe of it in this way. In "Shep. Cal." for Dec. (vol. i. p. 136) Spenſer ſpeaks of the "green cabinet" of Pan. C.

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PROTHALAMION:

OR, A SPOUSALL VERSE,

MADE BY

EDM. SPENSER.

In honour of the double mariage of the two Honorable and vertuous Ladies, the Ladie Elizabeth, and the Ladie Katherine Somerſet, Daughters to the Right Honorable the Earle of Worceſter, and eſpouſed to the two worthie Gentlemen, M. Henry Gilford and M. William Peter, Eſquyers.

AT LONDON.
Printed for William Ponſonby.
1596.

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1596

PROTHALAMION.

I.

CALME was the day, and through the trembling ayre
Sweete breathing Zephyrus did ſoftly play,
A gentle ſpirit, that lightly did delay[a]
Hot Titans beames, which then did glyſter fayre;
When I, whom ſullein care,
Through diſcontent of my long fruitleſſe ſtay
In Princes Court, and expectation vayne
Of idle hopes, which ſtill doe fly away,
Like empty ſhaddowes, did aflict my brayne,
Walkt forth to eaſe my payne
Along the ſhoare of ſilver ſtreaming Themmes;
Whoſe rutty Bancke,[b] the which his River hemmes,
Was paynted all with variable flowers,
And all the meades adornd with daintie gemmes,
Fit to decke maydens bowres,

[a] *that lightly did delay.*] *Temper* or *mitigate*, as in F. Q. ii. ix. 30 [vol. ii. p. 249]. "But to *delay* the heat." *Delay* is repeatedly uſed in this ſenſe by Spenſer. Todd.

[b] *Whoſe rutty Bancke.*] That is, whoſe bank *full of roots*, &c. *rootie*, an old Engliſh adjective. See Cotgrave's Fr. and Eng. Dict. Todd. Chapman is the only other poet, that we are aware of, who uſed the adjective *rooty*; and ſo he ſpelt it, and not "rutty" as in Spenſer: he is ſpeaking of the "rooty ſides" of a hill. Iliad, B. xvii. l. 654. C.

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And crowne their Paramours
Againſt the Brydale day, which is not long:[c]
Sweete Themmes! runne ſoftly, till I end my Song.

2.

There, in a Meadow, by the Rivers ſide,
A Flocke of Nymphes I chaunced to eſpy,
All lovely Daughters of the Flood thereby,
With goodly greeniſh locks, all looſe untyde,
As each had bene a Bryde;
And each one had a little wicker baſket,
Made of fine twigs, entrayled curiouſly,
In which they gathered flowers to fill their flaſket,
And with fine fingers cropt full feateouſly
The tender ſtalkes on hye.
Of every ſort, which in that Meadow grew,
They gathered ſome; the Violet, pallid blew,
The little Dazie that at evening cloſes,
The virgin Lillie, and the Primroſe trew,
With ſtore of vermeil Roſes,
To deck their Bridegroomes poſies
Againſt the Brydale day, which was not long:
Sweete Themmes! runne ſoftly, till I end my Song.

3.

With that I ſaw two Swannes of goodly hewe
Come ſoftly ſwimming downe along the Lee;
Two fairer Birds I yet did never ſee:
The ſnow, which doth the top of Pindus ſtrew,
Did never whiter ſhew,
Nor Jove himſelfe, when he a Swan would be
For love of Leda, whiter did appeare;

---

[c] *which is not long.*] That is, approaching, near at hand. See F. Q. iv. iv. 12 [vol. iii. p. 146]. T. WARTON.

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Yet Leda was, they ſay, as white as he,
Yet not ſo white as theſe, nor nothing neare:
So purely white they were,
That even the gentle ſtreame, the which them bare,
Seem'd foule to them, and bad his billowes ſpare
To wet their ſilken feathers, leaſt they might
Soyle their fayre plumes with water not ſo fayre,
And marre their beauties bright,
That ſhone as heavens light,
Againſt their Brydale day, which was not long:
Sweete Themmes! runne ſoftly, till I end my Song.

4.

Eftſoones the Nymphes, which now had Flowers their fill,
Ran all in haſte to ſee that ſilver brood,
As they came floating on the chriſtal Flood;
Whom when they ſawe, they ſtood amazed ſtill,
Their wondring eyes to fill:
Them ſeem'd they never ſaw a ſight ſo fayre,
Of Fowles, ſo lovely, that they ſure did deeme
Them heavenly borne, or to be that ſame payre
Which through the Skie draw Venus ſilver teeme;
For ſure they did not ſeeme
To be begot of any earthly Seede,
But rather Angels, or of Angels breede:
Yet were they bred of Somers-heat,[d] they ſay,
In ſweeteſt Seaſon, when each flower and weede
The earth did freſh aray;
So freſh they ſeem'd as day,
Even as their Brydale day, which was not long:
Sweete Themmes! runne ſoftly, till I end my Song.

---

[d] *Yet were they bred of Somers-heat.*] A punning alluſion to the ſurname of the Ladies [*Somerſet*] whoſe marriages this ſpouſal verſe celebrates. Todd.

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5.

Then forth they all out of their baſkets drew
Great ſtore of Flowers, the honour of the field,
That to the ſenſe did fragrant odours yeild,
All which upon thoſe goodly Birds they threw,
And all the Waves did ſtrew,
That like old Peneus Waters they did ſeeme,
When downe along by pleaſant Tempes ſhore,
Scattred with flowres, through Theſſaly they ſtreeme,
That they appeare, through Lillies plenteous ſtore,
Like a Brydes chamber flore.
Two of thoſe Nymphes, meane while, two Garlands bound
Of freſheſt Flowres which in that Mead they found,
The which preſenting all in trim array,
Their ſnowie foreheads therewithall they crownd,
Whilſt one did ſing this Lay,
Prepar'd againſt that day,
Againſt their Brydale day, which was not long:
Sweete Themmes! runne ſoftly, till I end my Song.

6.

" Ye gentle Birdes, the worlds faire ornament,
" And heavens glorie, whom this happie hower
" Doth leade unto your lovers bliſsfull bower,
" Joy may you have, and gentle hearts content
" Of your loves couplement!
" And let faire Venus, that is Queene of love,
" With her heart-quelling Sonne upon you ſmile,
" Whoſe ſmile, they ſay, hath vertue to remove
" All loves diſlike, and friendſhips faultie guile
" For ever to aſſoile.
" Let endleſſe Peace your ſteadfaſt hearts accord,
" And bleſſed Plentie wait upon you[r] bord;
" And let your bed with pleaſures chaſt abound,

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" That fruitfull iſſue may to you afford,
" Which may your foes confound,
" And make your joyes redound
" Upon your Brydale day, which is not long:
" Sweete Themmes! run ſoftlie, till I end my Song."

7.

So ended ſhe; and all the reſt around
To her redoubled that her underſong,
Which ſaid, their bridale daye ſhould not be long:
And gentle Eccho from the neighbour ground
Their accents did reſound.
So forth thoſe joyous Birdes did paſſe along
Adowne the Lee, that to them murmurde low,
As he would ſpeake, but that he lackt a tong,
Yet did by ſignes his glad affection ſhow,
Making his ſtreame run ſlow:
And all the foule which in his flood did dwell
Gan flock about theſe twaine, that did excell
The reſt, ſo far as Cynthia doth ſhend
The leſſer ſtarres. So they, enranged well,
Did on thoſe two attend,
And their beſt ſervice lend
Againſt their wedding day, which was not long:
Sweete Themmes! run ſoftly, till I end my Song.

8.

At length they all to mery London came,
To mery London, my moſt kyndly Nurſe,
That to me gave this Lifes firſt native ſourſe,
Though from another place I take my name,
An houſe of auncient fame.
There when they came, whereas thoſe bricky towres
The which on Themmes brode aged backe doe ryde,
Where now the ſtudious Lawyers have their bowers:

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There whylome wont the Templer Knights to byde,
Till they decayd through pride;
Next whereunto there ſtandes a ſtately place,
Where oft I gayned giftes and goodly grace
Of that great Lord, which therein wont to dwell;
Whoſe want too well now feels my freendles caſe:
But ah! here fits not well
Olde woes, but joyes, to tell
Againſt the Bridale daye, which is not long:
Sweete Themmes! runne ſoftly, till I end my Song.

9.

Yet therein now doth lodge a noble Peer,
Great Englands glory, and the Worlds wide wonder,
Whoſe dreadfull name late through all Spaine did thunder,
And Hercules two pillors ſtanding neere
Did make to quake and feare.
Faire branch of Honor, flower of Chevalrie!
That filleſt England with thy triumphes fame,
Joy have thou of thy noble victorie,
And endleſſe happineſſe of thine owne name
That promiſeth the ſame.
That through thy proweſſe, and victorious armes,
Thy country may be freed from forraine harmes,
And great Eliſaes glorious name may ring
Through al the world, fil'd with thy wide alarmes,
Which ſome brave muſe may ſing
To ages following,
Upon the Brydale day, which is not long:
Sweete Themmes! runne ſoftly, till I end my Song.

10.

From thoſe high Towers this noble Lord iſſuing,
Like radiant Heſper, when his golden hayre
In th' Ocean billowes he hath bathed fayre,

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Deſcended to the Rivers open vewing,
With a great traine enſuing.
Above the reſt were goodly to bee ſeene
Two gentle Knights of lovely face and feature,
Beſeeming well the bower of any Queene,
With gifts of wit, and ornaments of nature,
Fit for ſo goodly ſtature,
That like the Twins of Jove they ſeem'd in ſight,
Which decke the Bauldricke of the Heavens bright:
They two, forth pacing to the Rivers ſide,
Receiv'd thoſe two faire Brides, their Loves delight;
Which, at th' appointed tyde,
Each one did make his Bryde
Againſt their Brydale day, which is not long:
Sweete Themmes! runne ſoftly, till I end my Song.

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SONNETS

BY SPENSER,

COLLECTED FROM THE PUBLICATIONS IN WHICH THEY ORIGINALLY APPEARED.

I.

To the right worſhipfull, my ſingular good frend, M. Gabriell Harvey, Doctor of the Lawes.

HARVEY, the happy[a] above happieſt men
I read, that, ſitting like a Looker-on
Of this worldes ſtage, doeſt note with critique pen
The ſharpe diſlikes of each condition;
And, as one careleſſe of ſuſpition,
Ne fawneſt for the favour of the great;
Ne feareſt fooliſh reprehenſion
Of faulty men, which daunger to thee threat:
But freely doeſt, of what thee liſt, entreat,
Like a great lord of peereleſſe liberty;

---

[a] *Harvey, the happy.*] From "Foure Letters, and certaine Sonnets, eſpecially touching Robert Greene, and other parties by him abuſed, &c. Lond. 4to. Impr. by Iohn Wolfe, 1592." Sign. I. 3. b. Todd. Reprinted in 1814 in a collection called "Archaica, containing a Reprint of ſcarce old Engliſh Proſe Tracts," vol. ii. C.

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Lifting the Good up to high Honours ſeat,
And the Evill damning evermore to dy;
For Life, and Death, is in the doomeful writing.
So thy renowme lives ever by endighting.

Your devoted friend, during life,

EDMUND SPENCER.

Dublin, this xviij. of July, 1586.

II.

WHOSO wil ſeeke[b] by right deſerts t' attaine
Unto the type of true Nobility,
And not by painted ſhewes, and titles vaine,
Derived farre from famous Aunceſtrie,
Behold them both in their right viſnomy
Here truly pourtray'd, as they ought to be,
And ſtriving both for termes of dignitie,
To be advanced higheſt in degree.
And, when thou dooſt with equall inſight ſee
The ods twixt both, of both them deem aright,
And chuſe the better of them both to thee,
But thanks to him, that it deſerves, behight:
To Nenna firſt, that firſt this worke created,
And next to Jones, that truely it tranſlated.

ED. SPENSER.

---

[b] *Whoſo wil ſeeke.*] Prefixed to "Nennio, or a Treatiſe of Nobility, &c. Written in Italian by that famous Doctor and worthy Knight Sir Iohn Baptiſta Nenna of Bari. Done into Engliſh by William Iones, Gent. 4to. 1595." TODD. Beſides Spenſer, George Chapman, John Day, and others, contributed commendatory poems. C.

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III.

Upon the Hiſtorie of George Caſtriot, alias Scanderbeg, king of the Epirots, tranſlated into Engliſh.

WHEREFORE doth vaine[c] antiquitie ſo vaunt
Her ancient monuments of mightie peeres,
And old Heroes, which their world did daunt
With their great deedes, and fild their childrens eares?
Who, rapt with wonder of their famous praiſe,
Admire their ſtatues, their Coloſſoes great;
Their rich triumphall Arcks which they did raiſe,
Their huge Pyramids, which do heaven threat.
Lo! one, whom later age hath brought to light,
Matchable to the greateſt of thoſe great;
Great both by name, and great in power and might,
And meriting a meere[d] triumphant ſeate.
The ſcourge of Turkes, and plague of infidels,
Thy acts, O Scanderbeg! this volume tels.

ED. SPENSER.

IV.

THE antique Babel,[e] Empreſſe of the Eaſt,
Upreard her buildinges to the threatned ſkie:

---

[c] *Wherefore doth vaine.*] Prefixed to the "Hiſtorie of George Caſtriot, ſurnamed Scanderbeg, King of Albanie: Containing his famous actes, &c. Newly tranſlated out of French into Engliſh by Z. I. Gentleman. Impr. for W. Ponſonby, 1596." fol. TODD. Todd miſquoted the title of this book, and has been invariably followed in an error which we have corrected. Beſides Spenſer's ſonnet, which comes firſt, two others by R. C. and by C. C. introduce the volume. C.

[d] *And meriting a meere.*] *Abſolute, entire.* So, in the "Faerie Queene," he has "*mere* compaſſion." See alſo Cotgrave's Dict. in V. *Mere.* TODD. Nothing can be more common than this application of "mere;" but there is ſurely room to ſuſpect that it was here a miſprint for *more.* C.

[e] *The antique Babel.*] Prefixed to "The Commonwealth and Go-

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And ſecond Babell, Tyrant of the Weſt,
Her ayry towers upraiſed much more high:
But, with the weight of their own ſurquedry,
They both are fallen, that all the earth did feare,
And buried now in their own aſhes ly;
Yet ſhewing, by their heapes, how great they were.
But in their place doth now a third appeare,
Fayre Venice, flower of the laſt worlds delight,
And next to them in beauty draweth neare,
But farre exceedes in policie of right.
Yet not ſo fayre her buildinges to behold
As Lewkenors ſtile[f] that hath her beautie told.

EDM. SPENCER.

---

vernment of Venice, Written by the Cardinall Gaſpar Contareno, and tranſlated out of Italian into Engliſh, by Lewes Lewkenor Eſquire. London, imprinted by Iohn Windet for Edmund Mattes, &c. 1599." 4to. TODD.

[f] *As Lewkenors ſtile.*] Five years earlier Lewkenor had publiſhed a tranſlation from the Spaniſh, under the title of "The Reſolved Gentleman." 4to. 1594. C.

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"BRITTAIN'S IDA.

WRITTEN BY THAT RENOWNED POËT,

EDMOND SPENCER.

LONDON:
Printed for THOMAS WALKLEY, and are to be
ſold at his ſhop at the Eagle and Child
in Brittaines Burſſe. 1628."

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THE EPISTLE.

TO THE RIGHT NOBLE LADY, MARY,

DAUGHTER TO THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCE,

GEORGE, DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

MOST noble Lady, I have preſumed to preſent this Poem to your honourable hand, encouraged onely by the worth of the famous Author, (for I am certainely aſſured, by the ableſt and moſt knowing men, that it muſt be a worke of *Spencers*, of whom it were pitty that any thing ſhould bee loſt) and doubting not but your Lady-ſhip will graciouſly accept, though from a meane hand, this humble preſent, ſince the man that offers it is a true honourer of your ſelfe and your princely family, and ſhall ever remaine

The humbleſt of your devoted ſervants,

Thomas Walkley.

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MARTIAL.

Accipe facundi Culicem ſtudioſe Maronis,
Ne nugis poſitis, arma virûmque canas.

SEE here that ſtately Muſe, that erſt could raiſe
In laſting numbers great Elizaes praiſe,
And dreſſe fair Vertue in ſo rich attire,
That even her foes were forced to admire
And court her heauenly beauty! Shee that taught
The Graces grace, and made the Vertues thought
More vertuous than before, is pleaſed here
To ſlacke her ſerious flight, and feed your eare
With love's delightſome toys: doe not refuſe
Theſe harmleſſe ſports; 'tis learned Spencer's Muſe;
But think his looſeſt poems worthier then
The ſerious follies of vnſkillfull men.

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BRITTAIN'S IDA.[a]

CANTO I.

THE ARGUMENT.

The youthly Shepheards wonning here,
And Beauties rare diſplayd, appeare;
What exerciſe hee chiefe affects,
His name, and ſcornefull love neglects.

I.

IN Ida vale (who knowes not Ida vale?)
When harmleſſe Troy yet felt not Græcian ſpite,
An hundred ſhepheards wonn'd, and in the dale,

[a] *Brittain's Ida.*] We are unwilling to exclude anything that has ever been imputed to Spenſer; and although we are convinced, with T. Warton (Obſerv. on F. Q. vol. i. p. 123, edit. 1762), that Spenſer was not the author of "Brittain's Ida," as it is ſhort, and poſſeſſes conſiderable merit of its own, we inſert it. The reader will thus be able to form his own opinion. T. Walkley, who firſt printed it in 12mo. in 1628, only tells us that he was "certainly aſſured" that "it muſt be a work of Spenſer's;" but he furniſhes no evidence beyond what is merely internal, unleſs we alſo take into account the aſſertion of the writer of the not ungraceful preliminary verſes, "'tis learned Spenſer's Muſe." It has a much more modern air than anything elſe Spenſer has left behind him, and we do not believe that it was produced, at the earlieſt, until near the cloſe of the reign of James I: in St. xi. of Canto iii. the author ſpeaks of his "new-born quill." The poem is not even an imitation of Spenſer, nor, as far as we can judge, was it intended to be ſo. C.

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While their faire flockes the three-leav'd paſtures bite,
The ſhepheards boyes with hundred ſportings light,
Gave winges unto the times too ſpeedy haſt:
Ah, fooliſh Lads! that ſtrove with laviſh waſt
So faſt to ſpend the time that ſpends your time as faſt.

2.

Among the reſt, that all the reſt excel'd,
A dainty boy there wonn'd, whoſe harmleſſe yeares
Now in their freſheſt budding gently ſweld;
His nimph-like face nere felt the nimble ſheeres,
Youth's downy bloſſome through his cheeke appeares;
His lovely limbes (but love he quite diſcarded)
Were made for play (but he no play regarded)
And fit love to reward, and with love be rewarded.

3.

High was his fore-head, arch't with ſilver mould,
(Where never anger churliſh rinkle dighted,)
His auburne lockes hung like darke threds of gold,
That wanton aires (with their faire length incited)
To play among their wanton curles delighted;
His ſmiling eyes with ſimple truth were ſtor'd:
Ah! how ſhould truth in thoſe thiefe eyes be ſtor'd,
Which thouſand loves had ſtol'n, and never one reſtor'd?

4.

His lilly-cheeke might ſeeme an ivory plaine,
More purely white than frozen Apenine,
Where lovely Baſhfulneſſe did ſweetly raine
In bluſhing ſcarlet cloth'd, and purple fine.
A hundred hearts had this delightfull ſhrine,
(Still cold it ſelfe) inflam'd with hot deſire,
That well the face might ſeem, in divers tire,
To be a burning ſnow, or elſe a freezing fire.

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5.

His cheerfull lookes and merry face would proove
(If eyes the index be where thoughts are read)
A dainty play-fellow for naked Love:
Of all the other parts enough is ſed,
That they were fit twins for ſo fayre a head.
Thouſand boyes for him, thouſand maidens dy'de;
Dye they that liſt, for ſuch his rigorous pride,
Hè thouſand boyes (ah, Foole!) and thouſand maids deni'd.

6.

His joy was not in muſiques ſweete delight,
(Though well his hand had learnt that cunning arte,)
Or dainty ſongs to daintier eares indite,
But through the plaines to chace the nimble hart
With well-tun'd hounds; or with his certaine dart
The tuſked boare or ſavage beare to wound:
Meane time his heart with monſters doth abound;
Ah, Foole! to ſeeke ſo farre what neerer might be found.

7.

His name (well knowne unto thoſe woody ſhades,
Where unrewarded lovers oft complaine them,)
Anchiſes was; Anchiſes oft the glades
And mountains heard, Anchiſes had diſdain'd them;
Not all their love one gentle looke had gain'd them,
That rocky hills, with ecchoing noyſe conſenting,
Anchiſes plain'd; but he, no whit relenting,
Harder then rocky hils, laught at their vaine lamenting.

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CANTO II.

THE ARGUMENT.

Dione's Garden of Delight
With wonder holds Anchiſes ſight;
While from the bower ſuch muſique ſounds,
As all his ſenſes neere confounds.

1.

ONE day it chanc't as hee the deere perſude,
Tyred with ſport, and faint with weary play,
Faire Venus grove not farre away he view'd,
Whoſe trembling leaves invite him there to ſtay,
And in their ſhades his ſweating limbes diſplay;
There in the cooling glade he ſoftly paces,
And much delighted with their even ſpaces,
What in himſelfe he ſcorn'd, hee prais'd their kind imbraces.

2.

The woode with Paphian myrtles peopled,
(Whoſe ſpringing youth felt never winters ſpiting,)
To laurels ſweete were ſweetely married,
Doubling their pleaſing ſmels in their uniting;
When ſingle much, much more when mixt, delighting:
No foot of beaſte durſt touch this hallowed place,
And many a boy that long'd the woods to trace
Entred with feare, but ſoone turn'd back his frighted face.

3.

The thicke-lockt boughs ſhut out the tell-tale Sunne,
(For Venus hated his all-blabbing light,
Since her knowne fault, which oft ſhe wiſht undon,)
And ſcattered rayes did make a doubtfull ſight,
Like to the firſt of day or laſt of night:

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The fitteſt light for lovers gentle play.
Such light beſt ſhewes the wandring lovers way,
And guides his erring hand: night is Loves hollyday.

4.

So farre in this ſweete labyrinth he ſtray'd
That now he views the Garden of Delight,
Whoſe breaſt, with thouſand painted flowers array'd,
With divers joy captiv'd his wandring ſight:
But ſoon the eyes rendred the eares their right;
For ſuch ſtrange harmony he ſeem'd to heare,
That all his ſenſes flockt into his eare,
And every faculty wiſht to be ſeated there.

5.

From a cloſe bower this dainty muſique flow'd,
A bower appareld round with divers roſes,
Both red and white, which by their liveries ſhow'd
Their miſtris faire, that there her ſelfe repoſes;
Seem'd that would ſtrive with thoſe rare muſique clozes,
By ſpreading their faire boſomes to the light,
Which the diſtracted ſenſe ſhould moſt delight;
That raps the melted eare; this both the ſmel and ſight.

6.

The boy 'twixt fearefull hope, and wiſhing feare,
Crept all along (for much he long'd to ſee
The bower, much more the gueſt ſo lodged there;)
And, as he goes, he marks how well agree
Nature and Arte in diſcord unity,
Each ſtriving who ſhould beſt performe his part,
Yet Arte now helping Nature, Nature Arte;
While from his eares a voyce thus ſtole his heart.

7.

" *Fond Men! whoſe wretched care the life ſoone ending,*
By ſtriving to increaſe your joy, do ſpend it;

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And ſpending joy, yet find no joy in ſpending;
You hurt your life by ſtriving to amend it,
And ſeeking to prolong it, ſooneſt end it:
Then, while fit time affords thee time and leaſure,
Enjoy while yet thou mayſt thy lifes ſweet pleaſure:
Too fooliſh is the man that ſtarves to feed his treaſure.

8.

" Love is lifes end, (an end, but never ending)
All joyes, all ſweetes, all happineſſe, awarding;
Love is life's wealth (nere ſpent, but ever ſpending)
More rich by giving, taking by diſcarding;
Love's lifes reward, rewarded in rewarding:
Then, from thy wretched heart fond care remove;
Ah! ſhouldſt thou live but once loves ſweetes to proove,
Thou wilt not love to live, unleſſe thou live to love."

9.

To this ſweet voyce a dainty muſique fitted
It's well-tun'd ſtrings, and to her notes conſorted,
And while with ſkilfull voyce the ſong ſhe dittied,
The blabbing Echo had her words retorted;
That now the boy, beyond his ſoule tranſported,
Through all his limbes feeles run a pleaſant ſhaking,
And, twixt a hope and feare, ſuſpects miſtaking,
And doubts he ſleeping dreames, and broad awake feares waking.

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CANTO III.

THE ARGUMENT.

Faire Cythereas limbes beheld,
The ſtraying lads heart ſo inthral'd,
That in a trance his melted ſpright
Leaves th' ſences ſlumbring in delight.

1.

NOW to the bower hee ſent his theeviſh eyes
To ſteale a happy ſight; there doe they finde
Faire Venus, that within halfe naked lyes;
And ſtraight amaz'd (ſo glorious beauty ſhin'd)
Would not returne the meſſage to the minde;
But, full of feare and ſuperſtitious awe,
Could not retire, or backe their beams withdraw,
So fixt on too much ſeeing made they nothing ſaw.

2.

Her goodly length ſtretcht on a lilly-bed,
(A bright foyle of a beauty farre more bright)
Few roſes round about were ſcattered,
As if the lillies learnt to bluſh, for ſpight
To ſee a ſkinne much more then lilly-white:
The bed ſanke with delight ſo to be preſſed,
And knew not which to thinke a chance more bleſſed,
Both bleſſed ſo to kiſſe, and ſo agayne be kiſſed.

3.

Her ſpacious fore-head, like the cleareſt moone
Whoſe full-growne orbe begins now to be ſpent,
Largely diſplay'd in native ſilver ſhone,
Giving wide room to Beauty's regiment,
Which on the plaine with Love tryumphing went;

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Her golden haire a rope of pearle imbraced,
Which, with their dainty threds oft-times enlaced,
Made the eie think the pearle was there in gold inchaſed.

4.

Her full large eye, in jetty-blacke array'd,
Prov'd beauty not confin'd to red and white,
But oft her ſelfe in blacke more rich diſplay'd;
Both contraries did yet themſelves unite,
To make one beauty in different delight:
A thouſand Loves ſate playing in each eye;
And ſmiling Mirth, kiſſing fair Courteſie,
By ſweete perſwaſion wan a bloodleſſe victory.

5.

The whiteſt white, ſet by her ſilver cheeke,
Grew pale and wan, like unto heavy lead;
The freſheſt purple freſher dyes muſt ſeeke,
That dares compare with them his fainting red:
On theſe Cupido winged armies led
Of little Loves that, with bold wanton traine
Under thoſe colours, marching on the plaine,
Force every heart, and to low vaſſelage conſtraine.

6.

Her lips, moſt happy each in other's kiſſes,
From their ſo wiſht embracements ſeldome parted,
Yet ſeem'd to bluſh at ſuch their wanton bliſſes;
But when ſweet words their joyning ſweet diſparted,
To th' eare a dainty muſique they imparted:
Upon them fitly ſate, delightfull ſmiling,
A thouſand ſoules with pleaſing ſtealth beguiling:
Ah! that ſuch ſhews of joyes ſhould be all joyes exiling.

7.

The breath came ſlowly thence, unwilling leaving
So ſweet a lodge; but when ſhe once intended

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To feaſt the aire with words, the heart deceiving,
More faſt it thronged ſo to be expended;
And at each word a hundred Loves attended,
Playing i' th' breath, more ſweete than is that firing
Where that Arabian onely bird, expiring,
Lives by her death, by loſſe of breath more freſh reſpiring.

8.

Her chin, like to a ſtone in gold inchaſed,
Seem'd a fair jewell wrought with cunning hand,
And, being double, doubly the face graced.
This goodly frame on her round necke did ſtand;
Such pillar well ſuch curious work ſuſtain'd;
And, on his top the heavenly ſpheare up-rearing,
Might well preſent, with daintier appearing,
A leſſe but better Atlas, that faire heaven bearing.

9.

Lower two breaſts ſtand, all their beauties bearing,
Two breaſts as ſmooth and ſoft;[b] but, ah, alas!
Their ſmootheſt ſoftnes farre exceedes comparing;
More ſmooth and ſoft, but naught that ever was,
Where they are firſt, deſerves the ſecond place;
Yet each as ſoft and each as ſmooth as other;
And when thou firſt tri'ſt one, and then the other,
Each ſofter ſeemes then each, and each then each ſeemes ſmoother.

10.

Lowly betweene their dainty hemiſphæres,
(Their hemiſphæres the heav'nly globes excelling)
A path more white than is the name it beares,

---

[b] *Two breaſts as ſmooth and ſoft.*] Ought we not here to read "as ſmooth *as* ſoft?" Juſt above, "bearing" means *baring*. C.

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The Lacteal Path, conducts to the ſweet dwelling
Where beſt Delight all joyes ſits freely dealing;
Where hundred ſweetes, and ſtill freſh joyes attending,
Receive in giving; and, ſtill love diſpending,
Grow richer by their loſſe, and wealthy by expending.

11.

But ſtay, bold Shepheard! here thy footing ſtay,
Nor truſt too much unto thy new-borne quill,
As farther to thoſe dainty limbs to ſtray,
Or hope to paint that vale or beautious hill
Which paſt the fineſt hand or choyceſt ſkill:
But were thy verſe and ſong as finely fram'd
As are thoſe parts, yet ſhould it ſoone be blam'd,
For now the ſhameles world of beſt things is aſham'd.

12.

That cunning artiſt, that old Greece admir'd,
Thus farre his Venus fitly portrayed,
But there he left, nor farther ere aſpir'd;
His dædale hand, that Nature perfected
By Arte, felt Arte by Nature limitted.
Ah! well he knew, though his fit hand could give
Breath to dead colours, teaching marble live,
Yet would theſe lively parts his hand of ſkill deprive.

13.

Such when this gentle boy her cloſly view'd,
Onely with thinneſt ſilken vaile o'er-layd,
Whoſe ſnowy colour much more ſnowy ſhew'd
By being next that ſkin, and all betray'd,
Which beſt in naked beauties are array'd,
His ſpirits, melted with ſo glorious ſight,
Ran from their worke to ſee ſo ſplendid light,
And left the fainting limbes ſweet ſlumbring in delight.

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CANTO IV.

THE ARGUMENT.

The ſwounding ſwaine recovered is
By th' goddeſſe; his ſoule-rapting bliſſe:
Their mutual conference, and how
Her ſervice ſhe doth him allow.

1.

SOFT-SLEEPING Venus, waked with the fall,
Looking behind, the ſinking boy eſpies;
With all ſhe ſtarts, and wondereth withall;
She thinks that there her faire Adonis dyes,
And more ſhe thinkes the more the boy ſhe eyes:
So, ſtepping neerer, up begins to reare him;
And now with Love himſelfe ſhe will confer him,
And now before her Love himſelfe ſhe will prefer him.

2.

The lad, ſoone with that dainty touch reviv'd,
Feeling himſelfe ſo well, ſo ſweetly ſeated,
Begins to doubt whether he yet here liv'd,
Or elſe his flitting ſoul, to heav'n tranſlated,
Was there in ſtarry throne and bliſſe inſtated:
Oft would he dye, ſo to be often ſaved;
And now with happy wiſh he cloſly craved
For ever to be dead, to be ſo ſweet ingraved.

3.

The Paphian princeſſe (in whoſe lovely breaſt
Spiteful diſdaine could never find a place)
When now ſhe ſaw him from his fit releaſt,
(To Juno leaving wrath and ſcolding baſe)
Comforts the trembling boy with ſmiling grace;

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But oh! thoſe ſmiles (too full of ſweete delight)
Surfeit his heart, full of the former ſight;
So ſeeking to revive more wounds his feeble ſprite.

4.

" Tell me, fair Boy! (ſayd ſhe) what erring chance
Hither directed thy unwary pace?
For ſure Contempt or Pride durſt not advance
Their foule aſpect in thy ſo pleaſant face:
Tell me, what brought thee to this hidden place?
Or lacke of love, or mutuall anſwering fire?
Or hindred by ill chance in thy deſire?
Tell me, what iſt thy faire and wiſhing eyes require?"

5.

The boy, (whoſe ſence was never yet acquainted
With ſuch a muſique,) ſtood with eares arected,
And, ſweetly with that pleaſant ſpell enchanted,
More of thoſe ſugred ſtraines long time expected;
Till ſeeing ſhe his ſpeeches not rejected,
Firſt ſighes ariſing from his heart's low center,
Thus gan reply, when each word bold would venter,
And ſtrive the firſt that dainty labyrinth to enter.

6.

" Fair Cyprian Queene, (for well that heavenly face
Prooves thee the mother of all-conquering Love)
Pardon, I pray thee, my unweeting pace;
For no preſumptuous thoughts did hither moove
My daring feete to this thy holy grove
But luckleſſe chance (which, if you not gaine-ſay,
I ſtill muſt rue) hath caus'd me here to ſtray,
And loſe my ſelfe (alas!) in loſing of my way.

7.

" Nor did I come to right my wronged fire:
Never till now I ſaw what ought be loved;

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And now I ſee, but never dare aſpire
To moove my hope, where yet my love is mooved ;
Whence though I would, I would it not remooved :
Only ſince I have plac't my love ſo high,
Which ſure thou muſt, or ſure thou wilt, deny,
Grant me yet ſtill to love, though in my love to dye."

8.

But ſhee that in his eyes Loves face had ſeen,
And flaming heart, did not ſuch ſuite diſdaine,
(For cruelty fits not ſweete Beauties queene)
But gently could his paſſion entertaine,
Though ſhe Loves princeſſe, he a lowly ſwaine.
Firſt of his bold intruſion ſhe acquites him,
Then to her ſervice (happy Boy !) admits him,
And, like another Love, with bow and quiver fits him.

9.

And now with all the Loves he grew acquainted,
And Cupids ſelfe, with his like face delighted,
Taught him a hundred wayes with which he daunted
The prouder hearts, and wronged lovers righted,
Forcing to love that moſt his love deſpited :
And now the practique boy did ſo approove him,
And with ſuch grace and cunning arte did moove him,
That all the pritty Loves and all the Graces love him.

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CANTO V.

THE ARGUMENT.

The lovers ſad deſpairing plaints
Bright Venus with his love acquaints;
Sweetly importun'd, he doth ſhew
From whom proceedeth this his woe.

1.

YET never durſt his faint and coward heart
(Ah, Foole! faint heart faire lady ne're could win)
Aſſaile faire Venus with his new-learnt arte,
But kept his love and burning flame within,
Which more flam'd out the more he preſt it in;
And thinking oft how juſt ſhee might diſdaine him,
While ſome cool mirtle ſhade did entertaine him,
Thus ſighing would he ſit, and ſadly would he plain him:

2.

" Ah, fond and hapleſſe Boy! nor know I whether
More fond or hapleſſe more, that all ſo high
Haſt plac't thy heart, where love and fate together
May never hope to end thy miſery,
Nor yet thy ſelf dare wiſh a remedy:
All hindrances (alas!) conſpire to let it;
Ah, fond, and hapleſs Boy! if canſt not get it!
In thinking to forget, at length learne to forget it.

3.

" Ah, farre too fond, but much more hapleſſe Swaine!
Seeing thy love can be forgotten never,
Serve and obſerve thy love with willing paine;

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And though in vaine thy love thou doe perſever,
Yet all in vaine doe thou adore her ever.
No hope can crowne thy thoughts ſo farre aſpiring,
Nor dares thy ſelfe deſire thine owne deſiring,
Yet live thou in her love, and dye in her admiring."

4.

Thus oft the hopeleſſe boy complayning lyes;
But ſhe, that well could gueſſe his ſad lamenting,
(Who can conceal love from Loves mothers eyes?)
Did not diſdaine to give his love contenting;
Cruel the ſoule that feeds on ſoules tormenting:
Nor did ſhe ſcorne him, though not nobly borne,
(Love is nobility) nor could ſhe ſcorne
That with ſo noble ſkill her title did adorne.

5.

One day it chanc't, thrice happy day and chance!
While Loves were with the Graces ſweetly ſporting,
And to freſh muſique ſounding play and dance,
And Cupids ſelfe, with ſhepheards boys conſorting,
Laugh'd at their pritty ſport and ſimple courting,
Faire Venus ſeats the fearfull boy cloſe by her,
Where never Phœbus jealous lookes might eye her,
And bids the boy his miſtris and her name deſcry her.

6.

Long time the youth bound up in ſilence ſtood,
While hope and feare with hundred thoughts begun
Fit prologue to his ſpeech; and fearefull blood
From heart and face with theſe poſt-tydings runne,
That eyther now he's made, or now undon;
At length his trembling words, with feare made weake,
Began his too long ſilence thus to breake,
While from his humble eies firſt reverence ſeem'd to
ſpeake.

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7.

" Faire Queene of Love! my life thou maiſt command,
Too ſlender price for all thy former grace
Which I receive at thy ſo bounteous hand;
But never dare I ſpeak her name and face;
My life is much leſſe priz'd than her diſgrace:
And, for I know if I her name relate
I purchaſe anger, I muſt hide her ſtate,
Unleſſe thou ſweare by Stix I purchaſe not her hate."

8.

Faire Venus well perceiv'd his ſubtile ſhift,
And, ſwearing gentle patience, gently ſmil'd,
While thus the boy perſu'd his former drift:
" No tongue was ever yet ſo ſweetly ſkil'd,
Nor greateſt orator ſo highly ſtil'd,
Though helpt with all the choiceſt artes direction,
But when he durſt deſcribe her heaven's perfection,
By his imperfect praiſe diſprais'd his imperfection.

9.

" Her forme is as her ſelfe, perfect cœleſtriall,
No mortall ſpot her heavenly frame diſgraces:
Beyond compare ſuch nothing is terreſtrial;
More ſweete than thought or pow'rfull wiſh embraces;
The map of heaven, the ſumme of all her graces:
But if you wiſh more truly limb'd to eye her,
Than fainting ſpeech or words can well deſcry her,
Look in a glaſſe, and there more perfect you may ſpy her."

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CANTO VI.

THE ARGUMENT.

The boyes ſhort wiſh, her larger grant,
That doth his ſoule with bliſſe enchant;
Whereof impatient uttering all,
Inraged Jove contrives his thrall.

1.

"THY crafty arte," reply'd the ſmiling queene,
"Hath well my chiding and not rage[c] prevented,
Yet might'ſt thou thinke that yet 'twas never ſeene
That angry rage and gentle love conſented;
But if to me thy true love is preſented,
What wages for thy ſervice muſt I owe thee?
For by the ſelfe-ſame vow I here avow thee,
Whatever thou require I frankly will allow thee."

2.

"Pardon," replies the boy, "for ſo affecting
Beyond mortallity, and not diſcarding
Thy ſervice, was much more than my expecting;
But if thou (more thy bounty-hood regarding)
Wilt needs heap up reward upon rewarding,
Thy love I dare not aſke, or mutual firing,
One kiſſe is all my love and prides aſpiring,
And after ſtarve my heart for my too much deſiring."

---

[c] *and not rage.*] Perhaps "*hot* rage:" below, Todd read *fixing* for "firing;" probably only a miſprint. C.

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3.

" Fond Boy!" (ſayd ſhe) " too fond, that aſkt no more;
Thy want by taking is no whit decreaſed,
And giving ſpends not our increaſing ſtore."—
Thus with a kiſſe his lips ſhe ſweetly preſſed;
Moſt bleſſed kiſſe, but hope more than moſt bleſſed!
The boy did thinke heaven fell while thus he joy'd,
And while joy he ſo greedily enjoy'd,
He felt not halfe his joy by being overjoy'd.

4.

" Why ſighſt? faire Boy," (ſayd ſhe) " doſt thou repent thee
Thy narrow wiſh in ſuch ſtraight bonds to ſtay?"
" Well may I ſigh," (ſayd he) " and well lament me,
That never ſuch a debt may hope to pay."
" A kiſſe," (ſayd ſhe) " a kiſſe will back repay."
" Wilt thou" (reply'd the boy, too much delighted,)
" Content thee with ſuch pay to be requited?"
She grants; and he his lips, heart, ſoule, to payment cited.

5.

Look as a ward, long from his lands detain'd,
And ſubject to his guardians cruel lore,
Now ſpends the more, the more he was reſtrain'd;
So he; yet though in laying out his ſtore
He doubly takes, yet finds himſelf grow poore;
With that he markes, and tels her out a ſcore,
And doubles them, and trebles all before.
Fond boy! the more thou paiſt, thy debt ſtill grows the more.

6.

At length, whether theſe favours ſo had fir'd him
With kindly heate, inflaming his deſiring,
Or whether thoſe ſweete kiſſes had inſpir'd him,
He thinkes that ſomething wants for his requiring,

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And ſtill aſpires, yet knows not his aſpiring;
But yet though that hee knoweth ſo ſhe gave,
That he preſents himſelfe her bounden ſlave,
Still his more wiſhing face ſeem'd ſomewhat elſe to crave.

7.

And, boldned with ſucceſſe and many graces,
His hand, chain'd up in feare, he now releaſt,
And aſking leave, courag'd with her imbraces,
Againe it priſon'd in her tender breaſt:
Ah, bleſſed priſon! priſners too much bleſt!
There with thoſe ſiſters long time doth he play,
And now full boldly enters loves highway,
While downe the pleaſant vale his creeping hand doth ſtray.

8.

She, not diſpleas'd with this his wanton play,
Hiding his bluſhing with a ſugred kiſſe,
With ſuch ſweete heat his rudeneſſe doth allay,
That now he perfect knowes whatever bliſſe
Elder love taught, and he before did miſſe;
That moult with joy, in ſuch untri'd joyes trying,
He gladly dies; and death new life applying,
Gladly againe he dyes, that oft he may be dying.

9.

Long thus he liv'd, ſlumbring in ſweete delight,
Free from ſad care and fickle worlds annoy,
Bathing in liquid joyes his melted ſprite;
And longer mought, but he (ah, fooliſh Boy!)
Too proud, and too impatient of his joy,
To woods, and heav'n, and earth, his bliſſe imparted,
That Jove upon him downe his thunder darted,
Blaſting his ſplendent face, and all his beauty ſwarted.

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10.

Such be his chance that to his love doth wrong ;[d]
Unworthy he to have ſo worthy place,
That cannot hold his peace and blabbing tongue ;
Light joyes float on his lips, but rightly grace
Sinckes deepe, and th' heart's low center doth imbrace.
Might I enjoy my love till I unfold it,
I'd loſe all favours when I blabbing told it:
He is not fit for love that is not fit to hold it.

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[d] *that to his love doth wrong.*] No emendation is neceſſary, but poſſibly the poet (whoever he might be) wrote "that *ſo* his love doth wrong." Three lines lower, "rightly," reads like an error of the preſs; but we know not how to correct it. C.

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A VIEW OF THE STATE OF IRELAND:

BY EDMUND SPENSER.

WRITTEN DIALOGUE-WISE BETWEENE EUDOXUS AND IRENÆUS.

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A VIEW OF THE STATE OF IRELAND.

WRITTEN DIALOGUE-WISE BETWEENE

EUDOXUS AND IRENÆUS.

Eudox.

BUT if that countrey of Ireland, whence you lately came, be of ſo goodly and commodious a ſoyl, as you report, I wonder that no courſe is taken for the turning thereof to good uſes, and reducing that nation to better government and civility.

Iren. Marry, ſo there have bin divers good plottes deviſed, and wiſe councels caſt already about reformation of that realme; but they ſay, it is the fatall deſtiny of that land, that no purpoſes whatſoever which are meant for her good, wil proſper or take good effect, which, whether it proceed from the very genius of the ſoyle, or influence of the ſtarres, or that Almighty God hath not yet appointed the time of her reformation, or that hee reſerveth her in this unquiet ſtate ſtill for ſome ſecret ſcourge, which ſhall by her come unto England, it is hard to be knowne, but yet much to be feared.

Eudox. Surely I ſuppoſe this but a vaine conceipt of ſimple men, which judge things by their effects, and not by their cauſes; for I would rather thinke the cauſe of this evill, which hangeth upon that countrey, to proceed

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rather of the unſoundnes of the councels, and plots, which you ſay have bin oftentimes laid for the reformation, or of faintnes in following and effecting the ſame, then of any ſuch fatall courſe appointed of God, as you miſdeem: but it is the manner of men, that when they are fallen into any abſurdity, or their actions ſucceede not as they would, they are alwayes readie to impute the blame thereof unto the heavens, ſo to excuſe their owne follies and imperfections. So have I heard it often wiſhed alſo, (even of ſome whoſe great wiſedomes in opinion ſhould ſeeme to judge more ſoundly of ſo weighty a conſideration) that all that land were a ſea-poole: which kinde of ſpeech, is the manner rather of deſperate men farre driven, to wiſh the utter ruine of that which they cannot redreſs, then of grave councellors, which ought to think nothing ſo hard, but that thorough wiſedome, it may be maſtered and ſubdued; ſince the Poet ſaith, that "the wiſe man ſhall rule even over the ſtarres," much more over the earth; for were it not the part of a deſperate phiſitian to wiſh his diſeaſed patient dead, rather then to apply the beſt indeavour of his ſkill for his recovery. But ſince we are ſo farre entred, let us, I pray you, a little deviſe of thoſe evils, by which that country is held in this wretched caſe, that it cannot (as you ſay) be recured. And if it be not painefull to you, tell us what things, during your late continuance there, you obſerved to bee moſt offenſive, and greateſt impeachment to the good rule and government thereof.

Iren. Surely Eudox. The evils which you deſire to be recounted are very many, and almoſt countable with thoſe which were hidden in the baſket of Pandora. But ſince you pleaſe, I will out of that infinite number, reckon but ſome that are moſt capitall, and commonly occurrant both in the life and conditions of private men, as alſo in the managing of publicke affaires and pollicy, the which you

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ſhall underſtand to be of divers natures, as I obſerved them: for ſome of them are of verie great antiquitie and continuance; others more late and of leſſe indurance; others dayly growing and increaſing continuallie by their evill occaſions, which are every day offered.

Eudox. Tell them then, I pray you, in the ſame order that you have now rehearſed them; for there can be no better method then this which the very matter it ſelfe offereth. And when you have reckoned all the evils, let us heare your opinion for the redreſſing of them: after which there will perhaps of it ſelfe appeare ſome reaſonable way to ſettle a ſound and perfect rule of government, by ſhunning the former evils, and following the offered good. The which method we may learne of the wiſe Phiſitians, which firſt require that the malady be knowne throughly, and diſcovered; afterwards to teach how to cure and redreſſe it; and laſtly doe preſcribe a dyet, with ſtraight rule and orders to be dayly obſerved, for feare of relapſe into the former diſeaſe, or falling into ſome other more dangerous then it.

Iren. I will then, according to your adviſement, begin to declare the evils, which ſeeme to me moſt hurtfull to the common-weale of that land; and firſt, thoſe (I ſay) which were moſt auncient and long growne. And they alſo are of three ſorts; the firſt in the Lawes, the ſecond in Cuſtomes, and the laſt in Religion.

Eudox. Why, Irenæus, can there be any evill in the Lawes? can things, which are ordained for the good and ſafety of all, turne to the evill and hurt of them? This well I wote, both in that ſtate and in all other, that were they not contained in duty with feare of law, which reſtraineth offences, and inflicteth ſharpe puniſhment to miſdoers, no man ſhould enjoy any thing; every mans hand would be againſt another. Therefore, in finding fault with the lawes, I doubt me, you ſhall much over-ſhoote

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your ſelfe, and make me the more diſlike your other diſlikes of that government.

Iren. The lawes Eudox. I doe not blame for themſelves, knowing right well that all lawes are ordained for the good of the common-weale, and for repreſſing of licentiouſneſs and vice; but it falleth out in lawes, no otherwiſe then it doth in phyſick, which was at firſt deviſed, and is yet daylie ment, and miniſtred for the health of the patient. But nevertheleſſe we often ſee, that either thorough ignorance of the diſeaſe, or thorough unſeaſonableneſſe of the time, or other accidents comming betweene, in ſtead of good, it worketh hurt, and, out of one evill, throweth the patient into many miſeries. So the lawes were at firſt intended for the reformation of abuſes, and peaceable continuance of the ſubject; but are ſithence either diſanulled, or quite prevaricated thorough change and alteration of times, yet are they good ſtill in themſelves; but, in that commonwealth which is ruled by them, they worke not that good which they ſhould, and ſometimes alſo that evill which they would not.

Eudox. Whether doe you mean this by the common-lawes of that realme, or by the Statute Lawes, and Acts of Parliaments?

Iren. Surely by them both; for even the common law, being that which William of Normandy brought in with his conqueſt and laid upon the neck of England, though perhaps it fitted well with the ſtate of England then being, and was readily obeyed thorough the power of the commander, which had before ſubdued the people unto him, and made eaſie way to the ſetling of his will; yet with the ſtate of Ireland peradventure it doth not ſo well agree, being a people very ſtubborne, and untamed, or if it were ever tamed, yet now lately having quite ſhooken off their yoake, and broken the bonds of their obedience. For England (before the entrance of the Conqueror) was a

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peaceable kingdome, and but lately inured to the milde and goodly government of Edward, ſurnamed the Confeſſor; beſides now lately growne into a loathing and deteſtation of the unjuſt and tyrannous rule of Harold, an uſurper, which made them the more willing to accept of any reaſonable conditions and order of the new victor, thinking ſurely that it could be no worſe then the latter, and hoping well it would be as good as the former; yet what the proofe of firſt bringing in and eſtabliſhing of thoſe lawes was, was to many full bitterly made knowne. But with Ireland it is farre otherwiſe; for it is a nation ever acquainted with warres, though but amongſt themſelves, and in their owne kinde of military diſcipline, trayned up ever from their youthes, which they have never yet beene taught to lay aſide, nor made to learne obedience unto lawes, ſcarcely to know the name of law, but in ſtead thereof have alwayes preſerved and kept their owne law, which is the Brehon law.

Eudox. What is that which you call the Brehon law? it is a word unto us altogether unknowne.

Iren. It is a rule of right unwritten, but delivered by tradition from one to another, in which oftentimes there appeareth great ſhew of equity in determining the right betweene party and party, but in many things repugning quite both to Gods law, and mans: As for example in the caſe of murder, the Brehon, that is their judge, will compound betweene the murderer, and the friends of the party murdered which proſecute the action, that the malefactor ſhall give unto them, or to the child, or wife of him that is ſlain, a recompence, which they call an Eriach: by which vilde law of theirs, many murders amongſt them are made up, and ſmothered. And this judge being, as hee is called, the Lords Brehon, adjudgeth for the moſt part, a better ſhare unto his Lord, that is

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the Lord of the ſoyle, or the head of that ſept,[a] and alſo unto himſelfe for his judgement, a greater portion then unto the plaintiffes or parties greived.

Eudox. This is a moſt wicked law indeed: but I truſt it is not now uſed in Ireland, ſince the kings of England have had the abſolute dominion thereof, and eſtabliſhed their owne lawes there.

Iren. Yes truly; for there be many wide countries in Ireland, which the lawes of England were never eſtabliſhed in, nor any acknowledgment of ſubjection made; and alſo even in thoſe which are ſubdued, and ſeeme to acknowledge ſubjection, yet the ſame Brehon law is practiſed among themſelves, by reaſon that dwelling, as they doe, whole nations and ſepts of the Iriſh together, without any Engliſhman amongſt them, they may doe what they liſt, and compound or altogether conceale amongſt themſelves their owne crimes, of which no notice can be had, by them which would and might amend the ſame, by the rule of the lawes of England.

Eudox. What is this which you ſay? And is there any part of that realme, or any nation therein, which have not yet beene ſubdued to the crowne of England? Did not the whole realme univerſally accept and acknowledge our late Prince of famous memory, Henry the viiith, for their onely King and Liege Lord?

Iren. Yes verily: in a Parliament holden in the time of Sir Anthony Saint-Leger, then Lord Deputy, all the Iriſh Lords and principall men came in, and being by faire meanes wrought thereunto, acknowledged King Henry for their Soveraigne Lord, reſerving yet (as ſome ſay) unto themſelves all their owne former priviledges and ſeignories inviolate.

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[a] *the head of that ſept.*] "Sept" is *family*. So, in Moryſon's "Itinerary," fol. 1617, part ſecond, p. 1. "The Oneale, a fatall name to the chiefe of the SEPT or *family* of the Oneales, &c." TODD.

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Eudox. Then by that acceptance of his ſoveraignty they alſo accepted of his lawes. Why then ſhould any other lawes be now uſed amongſt them?

Iren. True it is that thereby they bound themſelves to his lawes and obedience, and in caſe it had beene followed upon them, as it ſhould have beene, and a government thereupon ſettled among them agreeable thereunto, they ſhould have beene reduced to perpetuall civilitie, and contained in continuall duty. But what bootes it to break a colte, and to let him ſtraight runne looſe at randome. So were theſe people at firſt well handled, and wiſely brought to acknowledge allegiance to the Kings of England; but, being ſtraight left unto themſelves and their owne inordinate life and manners, they eftſoones forgot what before they were taught, and ſo ſoone as they were out of ſight by themſelves, ſhook off their bridles, and beganne to colte anew, more licentiouſly then before.

Eudox. It is a great pittie, that ſo good an opportunity was omitted, and ſo happie an occaſion fore-ſlacked,[b] that might have beene the eternall good of the land. But doe they not ſtill acknowledge that ſubmiſſion?

Iren. No, they doe not; for now the heires and poſterity of them which yeelded the ſame are (as they ſay) either ignorant thereof, or do wilfully deny, or ſtedfaſtly diſavow it.

Eudox. How can they ſo doe juſtly? Doth not the act of the parent, in any lawfull graunt or conveyance, bind their heires for ever thereunto? Sith then the aunceſtors of thoſe that now live yeelded themſelves then ſubjects and liegemen, ſhall it not tye their children to the ſame ſubjection?

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[b] *ſo happie an occaſion fore-ſlacked.*] *Delayed* [*poſtponed*, or here, *neglected*]. See F. Q. v. xii. 3 [vol. iv. p. 25]. Todd.

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Iren. They ſay no; for their aunceſtours had no eſtate in any their lands, ſeigniories, or hereditaments, longer then during their own lifes, as they alledge, for all the Iriſh doe hold their land by Taniſtrie; which is (ſay they) no more but a perſonall eſtate for his life time, that is, Taniſt, by reaſon that he is admitted thereunto by election of the countrey.

Eudox. What is this which you call Taniſt and Taniſtry? They be names and termes never heard of nor knowne to us.

Iren. It is a cuſtome amongſt all the Iriſh, that preſently after the death of any of their chiefe Lords or Captaines, they doe preſently aſſemble themſelves to a place, generally appointed and knowne unto them, to chooſe another in his ſteed; where they doe nominate and elect, for the moſt part, not the eldeſt ſonne, nor any of the children of the Lord deceaſed, but the next to him of blood, that is the eldeſt and worthieſt; as commonly the next brother unto him if he have any, or the next couſin, or ſo forth, as any is elder in that kinred or ſept, and then next to him doe they chooſe the next of the blood to be Taniſt, who ſhall next ſucceed him in the ſaid Captainry, if he live thereunto.

Eudox. Doe they not uſe any ceremony in this election? for all barbarous nations are commonly great obſervers of ceremonies and ſuperſtitious rites.

Iren. They uſe to place him that ſhalbe their Captaine, upon a ſtone always reſerved for that purpoſe, and placed commonly upon a hill: in ſome of which I have ſeen formed and ingraven a foot, which they ſay was the meaſure of their firſt Captaines foot, whereon hee ſtanding receives an oath to preſerve all the auncient former cuſtomes of the countrey inviolable, and to deliver up the ſucceſſion peaceably to his Taniſt, and then hath a wand delivered unto him by ſome whoſe proper office that is:

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after which, deſcending from the ſtone, he turneth himſelfe round, thrice forward, and thrice backward.

Eudox. But how is the Taniſt choſen?

Iren. They ſay he ſetteth but one foot upon the ſtone, and receiveth the like oath that the Captaine did.

Eudox. Have you ever heard what was the occaſion and firſt beginning of this cuſtome? for it is good to know the ſame, and may perhaps diſcover ſome ſecret meaning and intent therein, very materiall to the ſtate of that government.

Iren. I have heard that the beginning and cauſe of this ordinance amongſt the Iriſh, was ſpecially for the defence and maintenance of their lands in their poſteritie, and for excluding all innovation or alienation thereof unto ſtrangers, and ſpecially to the Engliſh. For when their Captaine dieth, if the ſigniorie ſhould deſcend to his child, and he perhaps an infant, another might peradventure ſtep in between, or thruſt him out by ſtrong hand, being then unable to defend his right, or to withſtand the force of a forreiner; and therefore they doe appoint the eldeſt of the kinne to have the ſigniorie, for that he commonly is a man of ſtronger yeares, and better experience to maintain the inheritance, and to defend the countrey, either againſt the next bordering Lords, which uſe commonly to incroach one upon another as one is ſtronger, or againſt the Engliſh, which they thinke lye ſtill in waite to wype them out of their lands and territoryes. And to this end the Taniſt is alwayes ready knowne, if it ſhould happen the Captaine ſuddenly to dye, or to be ſlaine in battell, or to be out of the countrey, to defend and keepe it from all ſuch doubts and dangers. For which cauſe the Taniſt hath alſo a ſhare of the countrey allotted unto him, and certaine cuttings and ſpendings upon all the inhabitants under the Lord.

Eudox. When I hear this word Taniſt, it bringeth to

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my remembrance what I have read of Tania, that it ſhould ſignifie a province or ſeigniorie, as Aquitania, Luſitania, and Britania, the which ſome thinke to be derived of Dania, that is, from the Danes; but, I think, amiſſe. But ſure it ſeemeth, that it came anciently from thoſe barbarous nations that over-ranne the world, which poſſeſſed thoſe dominions, whereof they are now ſo called. And ſo it may well be that from thence the firſt originall of this word Taniſt and Taniſtry came,[c] and the cuſtome thereof hath ſithence, as many others elſe, beene continued. But to that generall ſubjection of the land, whereof wee formerly ſpake, me ſeemes that this cuſtome or tenure can be no barre nor impeachment, ſeeing that in open Parliament by their ſaid acknowledgement they waved the benefite thereof, and ſubmitted themſelves to the benefite of their new Soveraigne.

Iren. Yea, but they ſay, as I earſt tolde you, that they reſerved their titles, tenures, and ſeigniories whole and ſound to themſelves, and for proof alledge, that they have ever ſithence remained to them untouched, ſo as now to alter them, ſhould (ſay they) be a great wrong.

Eudox. What remedie is there, then, or meanes to avoide this inconvenience? for, without firſt cutting of[f] this dangerous cuſtome, it ſeemeth hard to plant any ſound ordinance, or reduce them to a civill government, ſince all their ill cuſtomes are permitted unto them.

Iren. Surely nothing hard; for by this Act of Parliament whereof wee ſpeake, nothing was given to King Henry which he had not before from his aunceſtors, but onely the bare name of a King; for all other abſolute power of principality he had in himſelfe before derived

[c] *the firſt originall of this word Taniſt and Taniſtry came.*] See whether it may not be more fitly derived from Thane, which word was commonly uſed among the Danes, and alſo among the Saxons in England, for a noble man, and a principal officer. SIR JAMES WARE.

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from many former Kings, his famous progenitours and worthy conquerours of that land. The which, ſithence they firſt conquered and by force ſubdued unto them, what needed afterwards to enter into any ſuch idle termes with them to be called their King, when it is in the power of the conqueror to take upon himſelf what title he will over his dominions conquered. For all is the conquerours, as Tully to Brutus ſaith. Therefore (me ſeemes) inſtead of ſo great and meritorious a ſervice as they boaſt they performed to the King, in bringing all the Iriſh to acknowledge him for their Liege, they did great hurt unto his title, and have left a perpetuall gall in the minde of the people who, before being abſolutely bound to his obedience, are now tyed but with termes, whereas elſe both their lives, their lands, and their liberties were in his free power to appoint what tenures, what lawes, what conditions hee would over them, which were all his: againſt which there could be no rightfull reſiſtance, or if there were, he might, when he would, eſtabliſh them with a ſtronger hand.

Eudox. Yea, but perhaps it ſeemed better unto that noble King to bring them by their owne accord to his obedience, and to plant a peaceable government amongſt them, then by ſuch violent means to pluck them under. Neither yet hath he thereby loſt any thing that he formerly had; for having all before abſolutely in his owne power, it remaineth ſo ſtill unto him, he having thereby neither forgiven nor forgone any thing thereby unto them, but having received ſomthing from them; that is, a more voluntary and loyall ſubjection. So as her Majeſty may yet, when it ſhall pleaſe her, alter any thing of thoſe former ordinances, or appoint other lawes, that may be more both for her own behoofe, and for the good of that people.

Iren. Not ſo; for it is not ſo eaſie, now that things are growne unto an habit and have their certaine courſe,

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to change the channell, and turne their ſtreames another way, for they may have now a colorable pretence to withſtand ſuch innovations, having accepted of other lawes and rules already.

Eudox. But you ſay they do not accept of them, but delight rather to leane to their old cuſtomes and Brehon lawes, though they be more unjuſt and alſo more inconvenient for the common people, as by your late relation of them I have gathered. As for the lawes of England, they are ſurely moſt juſt and moſt agreeable both with the government and with the nature of the people. How falls it then, that you ſeeme to diſlike of them as not ſo meete for that realme of Ireland, and not onely the Common Law, but alſo the Statutes and Actes of Parliament, which were ſpecially provided and intended for the onlie benefit thereof?

Iren. I was about to have told you my reaſon therein, but that yourſelfe drew me away with other queſtions, for I was ſhewing you by what meanes, and by what ſort, the poſitive lawes were firſt brought in and eſtabliſhed by the Norman Conquerour: which were not by him deviſed nor applyed to the ſtate of the realme then being, nor as yet might beſt be, (as ſhould by lawgivers principally be regarded) but were indeed the very lawes of his owne countrey of Normandie. The condition whereof, how farre it differeth from this of England is apparent to every leaſt judgement. But to transferre the ſame lawes for the governing of the realme of Ireland was much more inconvenient and unmeete; for he found a better advantage of the time, then was in the planting of them in Ireland, and followed the execution of them with more ſeverity, and was alſo preſent in perſon to overlooke the Magiſtrates, and to overawe theſe ſubjects with the terrour of his ſword, and countenance of his Majeſty. But not ſo in Ireland, for they were otherwiſe affected,

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and yet doe ſo remaine, ſo as the ſame lawes (me ſeemes) can ill fit with their diſpoſition, or worke that reformation that is wiſhed. For lawes ought to be faſhioned unto the manners and conditions of the people, to whom they are meant, and not to be impoſed upon them according to the ſimple rule of right; for then (as I ſaid) in ſtead of good they may worke ill, and pervert juſtice to extreame injuſtice. For hee that transferres the lawes of the Lacedemonians to the people of Athens ſhould finde a great abſurditie and inconvenience. For thoſe lawes of Lacedemon were deviſed by Lycurgus, as moſt proper and beſt agreeing with that people, whom hee knew to be enclined altogether to warres, and therefore wholly trained them up even from their cradles in armes and military exerciſes, cleane contrary to the inſtitution of Solon, who, in his lawes to the Athenians, laboured by all meanes to temper their warlike courages with ſweete delightes of learning and ſciences, ſo that aſmuch as the one excelled in armes, the other exceeded in knowledge. The like regard and moderation ought to be had in tempering, and managing, this ſtubborne nature of the Iriſh, to bring them from their delight of licentious barbariſme unto the love of goodnes and civilitie.

Eudox. I cannot ſee how that may better be then by the diſcipline of the lawes of England: for the Engliſh were, at firſt, as ſtoute and warlike a people as ever the Iriſh, and yet you ſee are now brought into that civility, that no nation in the world excelleth them in all goodly converſation, and all the ſtudies of knowledge and humanitie.

Iren. What they now be both you and I ſee very well, but by how many thornie and hard wayes they are come thereunto, by how many civill broiles, by how many tumultuous rebellions, that even hazarded oftentimes the whole ſafety of the kingdome, may eaſily be

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conſidered: all which they nevertheleſſe fairely overcame, by reaſon of the continuall preſence of their King; whoſe onely perſon is oftentimes in ſtead of an army, to containe the unrulie people from a thouſand evill occaſions, which this wretched kingdome, for want thereof, is dayly carried into. The which, whenſoever they make head, no lawes, no penalties, can reſtraine, but that they doe, in the violence of that furie, tread downe and trample under foote all both divine and humane things, and the lawes themſelves they doe ſpecially rage at, and rend in peeces, as moſt repugnant to their libertie and naturall freedome, which in their madnes they affect.

Eudox. It is then a very unſeaſonable time to plead law, when ſwords are in the hands of the vulgar, or to thinke to retaine them with feare of puniſhments, when they looke after liberty, and ſhake off all government.

Iren. Then ſo it is with Ireland continually, Eudoxus; for the ſword was never yet out of their hand, but when they are weary of warres, and brought downe to extreame wretchedneſſe: then they creepe a little perhaps, and ſue for grace, till they have gotten new breath and recovered their ſtrength againe. So as it is in vaine to ſpeak of planting lawes, and plotting pollicie, till they be altogether ſubdued.

Eudox. Were they not ſo at the firſt conquering of them by Strongbowe, in the time of King Henry the ſecond? was there not a thorough way then made by the ſword for the impoſing of the lawes upon them? and were they not then executed with ſuch a mightie hand as you ſaid was uſed by the Norman Conquerour? What oddes is there then in this caſe? why ſhould not the ſame lawes take as good effect in that people as they did here, being in like ſort prepared by the ſword, and brought under by extreamity? and why ſhould they not continue in as good force and vigour for the containing of the people?

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Iren. The caſe yet is not like, but there appeareth great oddes betweene them; for by the conqueſt of Henry the ſecond, true it is that the Iriſh were utterly vanquiſhed and ſubdued, ſo as no enemy was able to hold up head againſt his power, in which their weaknes hee brought in his lawes, and ſettled them as now they there remaine, like as William the Conquerour did; ſo as in thus much they agree, but in the reſt, that is the chiefeſt, they varie; for to whom did King Henry the ſecond impoſe thoſe lawes? not to the Iriſh, for the moſt part of them fled from his power into deſerts and mountaines, leaving the wyde countrey to the conquerour, who in their ſtead eftſoones placed Engliſh men, who poſſeſſed all their lands and did quite ſhut out the Iriſh, or the moſt part of them. And to thoſe new inhabitants and colonies he gave his lawes, to wit, the ſame lawes under which they were borne and bred, the which it was no difficultie to place amongſt them, being formerly well inured thereunto; unto whom afterwards there repaired diverſe of the poore diſtreſſed people of the Iriſh for ſuccour and reliefe; of whom, ſuch as they thought fit for labour and induſtriouſly diſpoſed, as the moſt part of their baſer ſort are, they received unto them as their vaſſals, but ſcarcely vouchſafed to impart unto them the benefit of thoſe lawes, under which themſelves lived, but every one made his will and commandement a law unto his owne vaſſall: thus was not the law of England ever properly applyed unto the Iriſh nation, as by a purpoſed plot of government, but as they could inſinuate and ſteale themſelves under the ſame by their humble carriage and ſubmiſſion.

Eudox. How comes it then to paſſe, that having beene once ſo low brought, and thoroughly ſubjected, they afterwards lifted up themſelves ſo ſtrongly againe, and ſithence doe ſtand ſo ſtiffely againſt all rule and government?

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Iren. They ſay that they continued in that lowlineſſe, until the time that the diviſion between the two houſes of Lancaſter and York aroſe for the crowne of England: at which time all the great Engliſh Lords and Gentlemen, which had great poſſeſſions in Ireland, repaired over hither into England, ſome to ſuccour their friends here, and to ſtrengthen their partie for to obtain the crowne; others to defend their lands and poſſeſſions here againſt ſuch as hovered after the ſame upon hope of the alteration of the kingdome, and ſucceſſe of that ſide which they favoured and affected. Then the Iriſh, whom before they had baniſhed into the mountaines, where they lived onely upon white meates, as it is recorded, ſeeing now their lands ſo diſpeopled, and weakened, came downe into all the plaines adjoyning, and thence expelling thoſe few Engliſh that remained, repoſſeſſed them againe; ſince which they have remained in them, and, growing greater, have brought under them many of the Engliſh, which were before their Lords. This was one of the occaſions by which all thoſe countreyes which, lying neere unto any mountaines or Iriſh deſarts, had beene planted with Engliſh, were ſhortly diſplanted and loſt. As namely in Mounſter all the lands adjoyning unto Slewlogher, Arlo, and the bog of Allon. In Connaght all the Countries bordering upon the Curlues, Mointerolis, and Orourkes countrey. In Leinſter all the lands bordering unto the mountaines of Glanmalour, unto Shillelah, unto the Brackenah, and Polmonte. In Ulſter, all the countreyes near unto Tirconnel, Tyrone, and the Scottes.

Eudox. Surely this was a great violence; but yet by your ſpeach it ſeemeth that onely the countreyes and valleyes neere adjoyning unto thoſe mountaines and deſarts, were thus recovered by the Iriſh: but how comes it now that we ſee almoſt all that realme repoſſeſſed of them? Was there any more ſuch evill occaſions growing

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by the troubles of England? Or did the Iriſh, out of thoſe places ſo by them gotten, break further and ſtretch themſelves out thorough the whole land? for now, for ought that I can underſtand, there is no part but the bare Engliſh Pale in which the Iriſh have not the greateſt footing.

Iren. Both out of theſe ſmall beginnings by them gotten neare to the mountaines, did they ſpread themſelves into the inland; and alſo, to their further advantage, there did other like unhappy accidents happen out of England, which gave heart and good opportunity to them to regaine their old poſſeſſions. For, in the raigne of King Edward the fourth, things remained yet in the ſame ſtate that they were after the late breaking out of the Iriſh, which I ſpake of; and that noble Prince began to caſt an eye unto Ireland, and to minde the reformation of things there runne amiſſe: for he ſent over his brother the worthy Duke of Clarence, who having married the heire of the Earle of Ulſter,[d] and by her having all the Earledome of Ulſter, and much in Meath and in Mounſter, very carefully went about the redreſſing of all thoſe late evills; and though he could not beate out the Iriſh againe, by reaſon of his ſhort continuance, yet hee did ſhut them up within thoſe narrow corners and glennes under the mountaines foote, in which they

[d] *Duke of Clarence, who having married the heire of the Earle of Ulſter,* &c.] It was not George Duke of Clarence here ſpoken of by the author, but Lionell Duke of Clarence,* third ſonne of King Edw. the 3rd, who married the earle of Ulſter's daughter, and by her had the earledome of Ulſter; and although Edw. the 4th made his brother the duke of Clarence, Lo. Lieutenant of Ireland, yet the place was ſtill executed by his Deputyes (which were at ſeverall times) Thomas earle of Deſmond, John Earle of Worceſter, Tho. Earle of Kildare, and William Shirwood Biſhop of Meth, the Duke himſelfe never comming into Ireland to governe there in perſon. SIR JAMES WARE.

* De hac re, vide Camd. Britan. p. 336. et Annal. Hib. ab eo edit. ad an. 1361.

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lurked, and ſo kept them from breaking any further, by building ſtrong holdes upon every border, and fortifying all paſſages.[o] Amongſt the which hee repaired the caſtle of Clare in Thomond, of which countrey he had the inheritance, and of Mortimers lands adjoyning, which is now (by the Iriſh) called Killaloe.[p] But the times of that good King growing alſo troubleſome did lett the thorough reformation of all things.[q] And thereunto ſoone after was added another fatal miſchiefe, which wrought a greater calamity than all the former.[r] For the ſaid Duke of Clarence, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was by practiſe of evill perſons about the King, his brother, called thence away; and ſoone after by ſiniſter meanes was cleane made away.[s] Preſently after whoſe death all the North revolting did ſet up Oneale for their Captaine, being before that of ſmall power and regard: and there aroſe in that part of Thomond, one of the O-Briens, called Murrogh en-Ranagh, that is, Morrice of the Ferne, or waſt wilde places, who, gathering unto him all the reliques of the diſcontented Iriſh, eftſoones ſurpriſed the ſaid caſtle of Clare, burnt, and ſpoyled all the Engliſh there dwelling, and in ſhort ſpace poſſeſſed all that countrey beyond the river of Shanan and neere adjoyning: whence ſhortly breaking forth, like a ſuddaine tempeſt, he over-ran all Mounſter and Connaght; breaking downe all the holds and fortreſſes of the Engliſh, defacing and utterly ſubverting all corporate townes that were not ſtrongly walled: for thoſe he had no meanes nor engines to overthrow, neither indeed would hee ſtay at all about them, but ſpeedily ran forward, counting his ſuddenneſſe his moſt advantage, that he might overtake the Engliſh before they could fortifie or gather themſelves together.[t] So in ſhort ſpace hee cleane wyped out many great townes, as firſt Inchequin, then Killalow, before called Clariford, alſo Thurles, Mourne, Buttevant, and many others,

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whoſe names I cannot remember, and of ſome of which there is now no memory nor ſigne remaining. Upon report whereof there flocked unto him all the ſcumme of the Iriſh out of all places, that ere long he had a mighty army, and thence marched foorth into Leinſter, where he wrought great out-rages, waſting all the countrey where he went; for it was his policie to leave no hold behinde him, but to make all plaine and waſte. In which he ſoone after created himſelfe King, and was called King of all Ireland; which before him I doe not reade that any did ſo generally, but onely Edward le Bruce.

Eudox. What! was there ever any generall King of all Ireland? I never heard it before, but that it was alwayes (whilſt it was under the Iriſh) divided into foure, and ſometimes into five kingdomes or dominions. But this Edward le Bruce, what was hee, that could make himſelfe King of all Ireland?

Iren. I would tell you, in caſe you would not challenge me anon for forgetting the matter which I had in hand, that is, the inconvenience and unfitneſſe which I ſuppoſed to be in the lawes of the land.

Eudox. No ſurely, I have no cauſe, for neither is this impertinent thereunto; for ſithence you did ſet your courſe (as I remember in your firſt part) to treate of the evils which hindered the peace and good ordering of that land, amongſt which that of the inconvenience in the lawes was the firſt which you had in hand, this diſcourſe of the over-running and waſting of the realm is very materiall thereunto, for that it was the begining of al the other evils, which ſithence have afflicted that land, and opened a way unto the Iriſh to recover their poſſeſſion, and to beat out the Engliſh which had formerly wonne the ſame. And beſides, it will give a great light both unto the ſecond and third part, which is the redreſſing of thoſe evils, and planting of ſome good forme or policy therin,

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by renewing the remembrance of theſe occaſions and accidents by which thoſe ruines hapned, and laying before us the enſamples of thoſe times, to be compared to ours, and to be warned by thoſe which ſhall have to doe in the like. Therefore, I pray you, tell them unto us, and as for the point where you left, I will not forget afterwards to call you backe againe thereunto.

Iren. This Edw. le Bruce was brother of Robert le Bruce, who was King of Scotland at ſuch time as King Edward the ſecond raigned here in England, and bare a moſt malicious and ſpightfull minde againſt King Edward, doing him all the ſcathe that hee could, and annoying his territoryes of England, whileſt he was troubled with civill warres of his Barons at home. Hee alſo, to worke him the more miſchiefe, ſent over his ſaid brother Edward with a power of Scottes and Red-ſhankes into Ireland, where, by the meanes of the Lacies and of the Iriſh with whom they combined, they gave footing, and gathering unto him all the ſcatterlings and out-lawes out of all the woods and mountaines, in which they long had lurked, marched foorth into the Engliſh Pale, which then was chiefly in the North, from the point of Donluce, and beyond unto Dublin; having in the middeſt of her Knockfergus, Belfaſt, Armagh, and Carlingford, which are now the moſt out-bounds and abandoned places in the Engliſh Pale, and indeede not counted of the Engliſh Pale at all, for it ſtretcheth now no further than Dundalke towardes the North. There the ſaid Edward le Bruce ſpoyled and burnt all the olde Engliſh Pale inhabitants, and ſacked and raſed all citties and corporate townes no leſſe then Murrough en Ranagh, of whom I earſt told you: for hee waſted Belfaſt, Green-Caſtle, Kelles, Bellturbut, Caſtletowne, Newton, and many other very good townes and ſtrong holdes: he rooted out the noble families of the Audlies, Talbotts, Tuchets, Cham-

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berlaines, Maundevills, and the Savages out of Ardes, though of the Lo. Savage there remaineth yet an heire, that is now a poore gentleman of very meane condition, yet dwelling in the Ardes. And coming laſtly to Dundalke, hee there made himſelfe King, and raigned the ſpace of one whole yeare, untill that Edward King of England, having ſet ſome quiet in his affaires at home, ſent over the Lord John Birmingham to be Generall of the warres againſt him, who, incountering him neere to Dundalke, over-threw his army, and ſlew him. Alſo hee preſently followed the victory ſo hotly upon the Scottes, that hee ſuffered them not to breathe, or gather themſelves together againe, untill they came to the ſea-coaſt. Notwithſtanding, all the way that they fledde, for very rancor and deſpight, in their returne they utterly conſumed and waſted whatſoever they had before left unſpoyled, ſo as of all townes, caſtles, forts, bridges, and habitations, they left not any ſticke ſtanding, nor any people remayning; for thoſe few, which yet ſurvived, fledde from their fury further into the Engliſh Pale that now is. Thus was all that goodly countrey utterly waſted. And ſure it is yet a moſt beautifull and ſweet countrey as any is under heaven, being ſtored throughout with many goodly rivers, repleniſhed with all ſorts of fiſh, moſt abundantly ſprinkled with many very ſweet ilands and goodly lakes, like little inland ſeas, that will carry even ſhippes upon their waters, adorned with goodly woods even fit for building of houſes and ſhips, ſo commodiouſly, as that if ſome Princes in the world had them, they would ſoone hope to be lords of all the ſeas, and ere long of all the world: alſo full of very good ports and havens opening upon England, as inviting us to come unto them, to ſee what excellent commodities that countrey can afford, beſides the ſoyle it ſelfe moſt fertile, fit to yeeld all kinde of fruit that ſhall be committed there-

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unto. And laſtly, the heavens moſt milde and temperate, though ſomewhat more moiſt then the parts towards the Weſt.

Eudox. Truly Iren., what with your praiſes of the countrey, and what with your diſcourſe of the lamentable deſolation thereof made by thoſe Scottes, you have filled mee with a great compaſſion of their calamities, that I doe much pity that ſweet land, to be ſubject to ſo many evills as I ſee more and more to be layde upon her, and doe halfe beginne to thinke, that it is (as you ſaid at the beginning) her fatall misfortune, above all other countreyes that I know, to bee thus miſerably toſſed and turmoyled with theſe variable ſtormes of affliction. But ſince wee are thus far entred into the conſideration of her miſhaps, tell mee, have there beene any more ſuch tempeſts, as you term them, wherein ſhe hath thus wretchedly beene wracked?

Iren. Many more, God wot, have there beene, in which principall parts have beene rent and torne aſunder, but none (as I can remember) ſo univerſall as this. And yet the rebellion of Thomas Fitz Garret did well-nye ſtretch itſelf into all parts of Ireland. But that, which was in the time of the government of the Lord Grey, was ſurely no leſſe generall then all thoſe; for there was no part free from the contagion, but all conſpired in one to caſt off their ſubjection to the crowne of England. Nevertheleſſe, thorough the moſt wiſe and valiant handling of that right noble Lord, it got not the head which the former evills found; for in them the realme was left, like a ſhip in a ſtorm, amidſt all the raging ſurges, unruled, and undirected of any: for they to whom ſhe was committed either fainted in their labour, or forſooke their charge. But hee (like a moſt wiſe pilote) kept her courſe carefully, and held her moſt ſtrongly even againſt thoſe roaring billowes, that he ſafely brought her out of

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all; ſo as long after, even by the ſpace of 12 or 13 whole yeares, ſhe roade at peace, thorough his onely paines and excellent indurance, how ever Envy liſt to blatter againſt him.[e] But of this wee ſhall have more occaſion to ſpeak in another place: now (if you pleaſe) let us returne againe unto our firſt courſe.

Eudox. Truely I am very glad to heare your judgement of the government of that honourable man ſo ſoundly; for I have heard it oftentimes maligned, and his doings depraved of ſome, who (I perceive) did rather of malicious minde, or private grievance, ſeeke to detract from the honour of his deeds and counſels, then of any juſt cauſe: but he was nevertheleſſe, in the judgements of all good and wiſe men, defended and maintained. And now that he is dead, his immortall fame ſurviveth, and flouriſheth in the mouthes of all people, that even thoſe which did backbite him, are checked with their owne venome, and breake their galls to heare his ſo honourable report. But let him reſt in peace; and turne we to our more troubleſome matters of diſcourſe, of which I am right ſorry that you make ſo ſhort an end, and covet to paſſe over to your former purpoſes; for there be many other parts of Ireland, which I have heard have bin no leſſe vexed with the like ſtormes, then theſe which you have treated of, as the countreyes of the Birnes and Tooles near Dublin, with the inſolent out-rages and ſpoyles of Feagh mac Hugh, the countreyes of Catherlagh, Wexford, and Waterford, by the Cavenaghes. The countreyes of Leix, Kilkenny, and Kildare by the O Moores. The countreyes of Ofaly and Longford by the Connors. The countreyes of Weſtmeath, Cavan, and Lowth by the O Relyes, the Kellyes, and many

[e] *how ever Envy liſt to blatter againſt him.*] To *blatter* is to *rail* or *rage*. Todd. Fourteen lines below, ought we not to read *choked* for "checked?"—"*choked* with their owne venome." C.

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others, ſo as the diſcourſing of them, beſides the pleaſure which would redound out of their hiſtory, be alſo very profitable for matters of policy.

Iren. All this which you have named, and many more beſides, often times have I right well knowne, and yet often doe kindle great fires of tumultuous broyles in the countreyes bordering upon them. All which to rehearſe ſhould rather bee to chronicle times, then to ſearch into reformation of abuſes in that realme; and yet very needfull it will bee to conſider them, and the evils which they have often ſtirred up, that ſome redreſſe thereof, and prevention of the evills to come, may thereby rather be deviſed. But I ſuppoſe wee ſhall have a fitter opportunity for the ſame, when wee ſhall ſpeake of the particular abuſes and enormities of the government, which will be next after theſe generall defects and inconveniences which I ſaid were in the lawes, cuſtomes, and religion.

Eudox. Goe to them a Gods name, and follow the courſe which you have promiſed to your ſelfe, for it fitteth beſt, I muſt confeſſe, with the purpoſe of our diſcourſe. Declare your opinion, as you began, about the lawes of the realme, what incommoditie you have conceived to bee in them, chiefly in the Common Law, which I would have thought moſt free from all ſuch diſlike.

Iren. The Common Law is (as I ſaide before) of itſelfe moſt rightfull and very convenient (I ſuppoſe) for the kingdome for which it was firſt deviſed; for this (I thinke) as it ſeemes reaſonable, that out of your manners of your people, and abuſes of your countrey, for which they were invented, they take their firſt beginning, or elſe they ſhould bee moſt unjuſt; for no lawes of man (according to the ſtraight rule of right) are juſt, but as in regard of the evills which they prevent, and the ſafety of the common-weale which they provide for. As for example, in your true ballancing of juſtice, it is a flat

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wrong to puniſh the thought or purpoſe of any before it bee enacted; for true juſtice puniſheth nothing but the evill act or wicked word, that by the lawes of all kingdomes it is a capitall crime to deviſe or purpoſe the death of your King: the reaſon is, for that when ſuch a purpoſe is effected, it ſhould then bee too late to deviſe thereof, and ſhould turne the common-wealth to more loſſe by the death of their Prince, then ſuch puniſhment of the malefactors. And therefore the law in that caſe puniſheth the thought; for better is a miſchiefe, then an inconvenience. So that *jus politicum*, though it bee not of it ſelfe juſt, yet by application, or rather neceſſity, it is made juſt; and this onely reſpect maketh all lawes juſt. Now then, if theſe lawes of Ireland bee not likewiſe applyed and fitted for that realme, they are ſure very inconvenient.

Eudox. You reaſon ſtrongly: but what unfitneſſe doe you finde in them for that realme? ſhew us ſome particulars.

Iren. The Common Law appointeth that all tryalls, as well of crimes as titles and rights, ſhall bee made by verdict of a jury, choſen out of the honeſt and moſt ſubſtantiall free-holders. Now, moſt of the free-holders of that realme are Iriſh, which when the cauſe ſhall fall betwixt an Engliſhman and an Iriſh, or betweene the Queene and any free-holder of that countrey, they make no more ſcruple to paſſe againſt an Engliſhman, and the Queene, though it bee to ſtrayn their oathes, then to drinke milke unſtrayned. So that, before the jury goe together, it is all to nothing what the verdict ſhall be. The tryall have I ſo often ſeene, that I dare confidently avouch the abuſe thereof. Yet is the law, of itſelfe, (as I ſaid) good; and the firſt inſtitution thereof being given to all Engliſhmen very rightfully, but now that the Iriſh have ſtepped into the very roomes of our Engliſh, wee are now to become heedfull and provident in juryes.

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Eudox. In ſooth, Iren. you have diſcovered a point worthy the conſideration; for heereby not onely the Engliſh ſubject findeth no indifferencie in deciding of his cauſe, bee it never ſo juſt; but the Queene, aſwell in all pleas of the crowne, as alſo in inquiries for eſcheates, lands attainted, wardſhipps, concealments, and all ſuch like, is abuſed and exceedingly damaged.

Iren. You ſay very true; for I dare undertake, that at this day there are more attainted lands, concealed from her Majeſtie, then ſhee hath now poſſeſſions in all Ireland: and it is no ſmall inconvenience; for, beſides that ſhee looſeth ſo much land as ſhould turne to her great profite, ſhee beſides looſeth ſo many good ſubjects, which might bee aſſured unto her, as thoſe landes would yeeld inhabitants and living unto.

Eudox. But doth many of that people (ſay you) make no more conſcience to perjure themſelves in their verdicts, and damne their ſoules?

Iren. Not onely ſo in their verdicts, but alſo in all other their dealings; eſpecially with the Engliſh, they are moſt willfully bent: for though they will not ſeeme manifeſtly to doe it, yet will ſome one or other ſubtle-headed fellow amongſt them put ſome quirke, or deviſe ſome evaſion, whereof the reſt will likely take hold, and ſuffer themſelves eaſily to be led by him to that themſelves deſired. For in the moſt apparent matter that may bee, the leaſt queſtion or doubt that may bee mooved will make a ſtoppe unto them, and put them quite out of the way. Beſides that, of themſelves (for the moſt part) they are ſo cautelous[t] and wylie-headed, eſpecially being men of ſo ſmall experience and practice in law matters,

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[t] *they are ſo cautelous.*] *Cautious.* See the Gloſſ. Urry's Chaucer, in V. *Cautele.* Todd. The word occurs more than once in Shakeſpeare. and is found in nearly all the writers of his day. C.

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that you would wonder whence they borrow ſuch ſubtiltyes and ſlye ſhifts.

Eudox. But, mee thinkes, this inconvenience might bee much helped in the Judges and Chiefe Magiſtrates which have the chooſing and nominating of thoſe jurors, if they would have dared to appoint either moſt Engliſhmen, and ſuch Iriſhmen as were of the ſoundeſt judgment and diſpoſition; for no doubt but ſome there bee incorruptible.

Iren. Somethere bee indeede as you ſay; but then would the Iriſh partie crye out of partialitie, and complaine hee hath no juſtice, hee is not uſed as a ſubject, hee is not ſuffered to have the free benefite of the law; and theſe outcryes the Magiſtrates there doe much ſhunne, as they have cauſe, ſince they are readily hearkened unto heere: neither can it bee indeede, although the Iriſh party would bee ſo contented to be ſo compaſſed, that ſuch Engliſh freehoulders, which are but few, and ſuch faithful Iriſhmen, which are indeede as few, ſhall alwayes bee choſen for tryalls; for being ſo few, they ſhould bee made weary of their free-houldes. And therefore a good care is to bee had by all good occaſions to encreaſe their number, and to plant more by them. But were it ſo, that the jurors could bee picked out of ſuch choyce men as you deſire, this would nevertheleſſe bee as bad a corruption in the tryall; for the evidence being brought in by the baſer Iriſh people, will bee as deceiptfull as the verdict; for they care much leſſe then the others what they ſweare, and ſure their Lordes may compell them to ſay any thing; for I myſelfe have heard, when one of the baſer ſort (which they call churles) being challenged, and reprooved for his falſe oath, hath anſwered confidently, That his Lord commaunded him, and it was the leaſt thing that hee could doe for his Lord to ſweare for him; ſo incon-

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ſcionable are theſe common people, and ſo little feeling have they of God, or their owne ſoules good.

Eudox. It is a moſt miſerable caſe, but what helpe can there bee in this? for though the manner of the trialls ſhould bee altered, yet the proofe of every thing muſt needes bee by the teſtimony of ſuch perſons as the parties ſhall produce; which if they ſhall bee corrupt, how can there ever any light of the truth appeare? what remedy is there for this evill, but to make heavy lawes and penalties againſt jurors?

Iren. I thinke ſure that will doe ſmall good; for when a people be inclined to any vice, or have no touch of conſcience, nor ſence of their evill doings, it is booteleſſe to thinke to reſtraine them by any penalties or feare of puniſhment; but either the occaſion is to be taken away, or a more underſtanding of the right, and ſhame of the fault to be imprinted. For if that Licurgus ſhould have made it death for the Lacedemonians to ſteale, they being a people which naturally delighted in ſtealth; or if it ſhould bee made a capitall crime for the Flemmings to be taken in drunkenneſſe, there ſhould have beene few Lacedemonians then left, and few Flemmings now. So unpoſſible it is to remove any fault, ſo generall in a people, with terrour of lawes or moſt ſharpe reſtraints.

Eudox. What meanes may there be then to avoyde this inconvenience? for the caſe ſeemes very hard.

Iren. We are not yet come to the point to deviſe remedies for the evils, but only have now to recount them; of the which, this which I have told you is one defect in the Common Law.

Eudox. Tell us then (I pray you) further, have you any more of this ſort in the Common Law?

Iren. By rehearſall of this, I remember alſo of an other like, which I have often obſerved in trialls to have wrought great hurt and hinderance, and that is, the ex-

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ceptions which the Common Law alloweth a fellon in his tryall; for he may have (as you know) fifty-ſix exceptions peremptory againſt the jurors, of which he ſhal ſhew no cauſe. By which ſhift there being (as I have ſhewed you) ſo ſmall ſtore of honeſt jury-men, he will either put off his tryall, or drive it to ſuch men as (perhaps) are not of the ſoundeſt ſort, by whoſe meanes, if he can acquite himſelfe of the crime, as he is likely, then will he plague ſuch as were brought firſt to bee of his jurie, and all ſuch as made any party againſt him. And when he comes forth, he will make their cowes and garrons[g] to walke, if he doe not other harme to their perſons.

Eudox. This is a ſlye deviſe, but I thinke might ſoone bee remedied; but we muſt leave it a while to the reſt. In the meane-while doe you goe forwards with others.

Iren. There is an other no leſſe inconvenience then this, which is the tryall of acceſſaries to fellony; for, by the Common Law, the acceſſaries cannot be proceeded againſt, till the principall have received his tryall. Now to the caſe, how it often falleth out in Ireland, that a ſtealth being made by a rebel, or an outlawe, the ſtolne goods are conveyed to ſome huſbandman or gentleman, which hath well to take to, and yet liveth moſt by the receipt of ſuch ſtealthes, where they are found by the owner, and handled: whereupon the partie is perhaps apprehended and committed to goal, or put upon ſureties, till the ſeſſions, at which time the owner, preferring a bill of indictment, proveth ſufficiently the ſtealth to have beene committed upon him by ſuch an outlaw, and to have beene found in the poſſeſſion of the priſoner,

[g] *cowes and garrons.*] "Garran" is an Erſe word; ſtill retained in Scotland, ſays Dr. Johnſon. It means a *ſtrong* or *hackney horſe.* See Shaw's Gaelic Dictionary. Todd. The etymology ſeems to be Ger. *Gorr, equus.* Richardſon ſhows that the word "garran" was alſo uſed by Whitelock and by Sir William Temple, but in both authors with reference to Ireland. C.

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againſt whom, nevertheleſſe, no courſe of law can proceede, nor tryall can be had, for that the principall theiſe is not to be gotten, notwithſtanding that he likewiſe, ſtanding perhaps indicted at once with the receiver, being in rebellion, or in the woods; where peradventure he is ſlaine before he can be gotten, and ſo the receiver cleane acquitted and diſcharged of the crime. By which meanes the theeves are greatly incouraged to ſteale, and their maintainers imboldened to receive their ſtealthes, knowing how hardly they can be brought to any tryall of law.

Eudox. Truely this is a great inconvenience, and a great cauſe (as you ſay) of the maintenance of theeves, knowing their receivers alwayes ready; for, were there no receivers, there would be no theeves: but this (me ſeemes) might eaſily be provided for by ſome Act of Parliament, that the receiver, being convicted by good proofes, might receive his tryall without the principall.

Iren. You ſay very true, Eudox., but that is almoſt impoſſible to be compaſſed. And herein alſo you diſcover another imperfection in the courſe of the Common Law, and firſt ordinance of the realme; for you know that the ſaid Parliament muſt conſiſt of the peeres, gentlemen, freeholders, and burgeſſes of that realme it ſelfe. Now theſe being perhaps themſelves, or the moſt part of them (as may ſeeme by their ſtiffe with-ſtanding of this Act) culpable of this crime, or favourers of their friends, which are ſuch by whom their kitchins are ſometimes amended, will not ſuffer any ſuch Statute to paſſe. Yet hath it oftentimes beene attempted, and in the time of Sir John Parrot very earneſtly (I remember) laboured, but could by no meanes be effected. And not onely this, but many other like, which are as needefull for the reformation of that realme.

Eudox. This alſo is ſurely a great defect, but wee may not talke (you ſay) of the redreſſing of this, untill our

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ſecond part come, which is purpoſely appointed thereunto. Therefore proceed to the recounting of more ſuch evils, if at leaſt, you have any more.

Iren. There is alſo a great inconvenience which hath wrought great dammage both to her Majeſty, and to that common wealth, thorough cloſe and colourable conveyances of the lands and goods of traytors, fellons, and fugitives. As, when one of them mindeth to goe into rebellion, hee will convey away all his lands and lordſhips to feoffees in truſt, wherby he reſerveth to himſelfe but a ſtate for terme of life, which being determined either by the ſword or by the halter, their lands ſtraight commeth to the heire, and the Queen is defrauded of the intent of the law, which laide that grievous puniſhment upon traytors to forfeite all their lands to the Prince, to the end that men might the rather be terrified from committing treaſons; for many which would little eſteeme of their owne lives, yet for remorſe of their wives and children would bee withheld from that haynous crime. This appeared plainely in the late Earle of Deſmond; for, before his breaking forth into open rebellion, hee had conveyed ſecretly all his lands to feoffees of truſt, in hope to have cut off her Majeſtie from the eſcheate of his lands.

Eudox. Yea, but that was well enough avoided; for the Act of Parliament which gave all his lands to the Queene did (as I have heard) cut off and fruſtrate all ſuch conveyances, as had at any time, by the ſpace of twelve yeares before his rebellion, beene made; within the compaſſe whereof, the fraudulent feoffement, and many the like of others his accomplices and fellow-traytors, were contained.

Iren. Very true, but how hardly that Act of Parliament was wrought out of them, I can witneſſe; and were it to be paſſed againe, I dare undertake it would

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never be compaſſed. But were it alſo that ſuch Acts might be eaſily brought to paſſe againſt traytors and fellons, yet were it not an endleſſe trouble, that no traytour or fellon ſhould be attainted, but a Parliament muſt be called for bringing of his lands to the Queene, which the Common-Law giveth her.

Eudox. Then this is no fault of the Common Law, but of the perſons which worke this fraud to her Majeſtie.

Iren. Yes, marry; for the Common-Law hath left them this benefite, whereof they make advantage, and wreſt it to their bad purpoſes. So as thereby they are the bolder to enter into evill actions, knowing that, if the worſt befall them, they ſhall loſe nothing but themſelves, whereof they ſeeme ſurely very careleſſe.

Eudox. But what meant you of fugitives herein? Or how doth this concerne them?

Iren. Yes, very greatly; for you ſhall underſtand that there bee many ill diſpoſed and undutifull perſons of that realme, like as in this point there are alſo in this realme of England too many, which being men of good inheritance, are for diſlike of religion, or danger of the law into which they are run, or diſcontent of the preſent government, fled beyond the ſeas, where they live under Princes, which are her Majeſties profeſſed enemies, and converſe and are confederat with other traitors and fugitives which are there abiding. The which nevertheleſſe have the benefits and profits of their lands here, by pretence of ſuch colourable conveyances thereof, formerly made by them unto their privie friends heere in truſt, who privily doe ſend over unto them the ſaid revenues, wherwith they are there maintained and enabled againſt her Majeſtie.

Eudox. I doe not thinke that there be any ſuch fugitives which are relieved by the profite of their lands in

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England, for there is a ſtraighter order taken. And if there bee any ſuch in Ireland, it were good it were likewiſe looked unto, for this evill may eaſily be remedied. But proceede.

Iren. It is alſo inconvenient in the realme of Ireland, that the wards and marriages of gentlemens children ſhould be in the diſpoſition of any of thoſe Iriſh Lords, as now they are, by reaſon that their lands bee held by knights ſervice of thoſe Lords. By which means it comes to paſſe that thoſe gentlemen, being thus in the ward of thoſe Lords, are not onely thereby brought up lewdly, and Iriſh-like, but alſo for ever after ſo bound to their ſervices, they will runne with them into any diſloyall action.

Eudox. This grievance, Iren. is alſo complained of in England, but how can it be remedied? ſince the ſervice muſt follow the tenure of the lands, and the lands were given away by the Kings of England to thoſe Lords, when they firſt conquered that realme; and, to ſay troth, this alſo would be ſome prejudice to the Prince in her wardſhipps.

Iren. I doe not meane this by the Princes wards, but by ſuch as fall into the hands of Iriſh Lords; for I could wiſh, and this I could enforce, that all thoſe wardſhips were in the Princes diſpoſition; for then it might be hoped, that ſhe, for the univerſall reformation of that realme, would take better order for bringing up thoſe wards in good nurture, and not ſuffer them to come into ſo bad hands. And although theſe things be already paſſed away, by her progenitours former grants, unto thoſe ſaid Lords; yet I could finde a way to remedie a great part thereof, as hereafter, when fit time ſerves, ſhall appeare. And ſince we are entred into ſpeech of ſuch grants of former Princes, to ſundry perſons of this realme of Ireland, I will mention unto you ſome other,

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of like nature to this, and of like inconvenience, by which the former Kings of England paſſed unto them a great part of their prerogatives; which though then it was well intended, and perhaps well deſerved of them which received the ſame, yet now ſuch a gapp of miſcheife lyes open thereby, that I could wiſh it were well ſtopped. Of this ſort are the graunts of Counties Palatines in Ireland, which though at firſt were granted upon good conſideration when they were firſt conquered, for that thoſe lands lay then as a very border to the wild Iriſh, ſubject to continuall invaſion, ſo as it was needfull to give them great priviledges for the defence of the inhabitants thereof; yet now that it is no more a border, nor frontired with enemies, why ſhould ſuch priviledges bee any more continued?

Eudox. I would gladly know what you call a County Palatine, and whence it is ſo called.

Iren. It was (I ſuppoſe) firſt named Palatine of a pale, as it were a pale and defenſe to their inward lands, ſo as it is called the Engliſh Pale, and therefore is a Palſgrave named an Earle Palatine. Others thinke of the Latine, *palare*, that is, to forage or out-run, becauſe thoſe marchers and borderers uſe commonly ſo to doe. So as to have a County Palatine is, in effect, to have a priviledge to ſpoyle the enemies borders adjoyning. And ſurely ſo it is uſed at this day, as a priviledged place of ſpoiles and ſtealthes; for the County of Tipperary, which is now the onely Countie Palatine in Ireland, is, by abuſe of ſome bad ones, made a receptacle to rob the reſt of the Counties about it, by meanes of whoſe priviledges none will follow their ſtealthes, ſo as it, being ſituate in the very lap of all the land, is made now a border, which how inconvenient it is let every man judge. And though that right noble man, that is the Lord of the liberty, do paine himſelfe all he may to yeeld equall

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juſtice unto all, yet can there not but great abuſes lurke in ſo inward and abſolute a priviledge, the conſideration whereof is to be reſpected carefully, for the next ſucceſſion. And much like unto this graunt there are other priviledges granted unto moſt of the corporations there; that they ſhal not be bound to any other government then their owne, that they ſhall not he charged with garriſons, that they ſhall not be travailed forth of their owne franchiſes, that they may buy and ſell with theeves and rebels, that all amercements and fines that ſhal be impoſed upon them ſhall come unto themſelves. All which, though at the time of their firſt graunt they were tollerable, and perhaps reaſonable, yet now are moſt unreaſonable and inconvenient; but all theſe will eaſily be cut off with the ſuperiour power of her Majeſties prerogative, againſt which her own graunts are not to be pleaded or enforced.

Eudox. Now truely, Irenæus, you have (me ſeemes) very well handled this point, touching inconveniences in the Common Law there, by you obſerved; and it ſeemeth that you have had a mindefull regard unto the things that may concerne the good of that realme. And if you can aſwell goe thorough with the Statute Lawes of that land, I will thinke you have not loſt all your time there. Therefore, I pray you, now take them in hand, and tell us what you thinke to bee amiſſe in them.

Iren. The Statutes of that realme are not many, and therefore we ſhall the ſooner runne thorough them. And yet of thoſe few there are impertinent and unneceſſary: the which though perhaps at the time of the making of them were very needfull, yet now thorough change of time are cleane antiquated, and altogether idle: As that which forbiddeth any to weare their beards all on the upper lippe, and none under the chinne. And that which putteth away ſaffron ſhirts and ſmockes. And

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that which reſtraineth the uſe of guilt bridles and petronels.[h] And that which is appointed for the recorders and clerks of Dublin and Tredagh, to take but ijd. for the coppy of a plainte. And that which commaunds bowes and arrowes. And that which makes that all Iriſhmen which ſhall converſe among the Engliſh ſhall be taken for ſpyes, and ſo puniſhed. And that which forbids perſons ameſnable to law to enter and diſtraine in the lands in which they have title; and many other the like I could rehearſe.

' *Eudox.* Theſe, truely, which yee have repeated, ſeeme very frivolous and fruiteleſſe; for by the breach of them little dammage or inconvenience can come to the Common-wealth: Neither, indeed, if any tranſgreſſe them, ſhall he ſeeme worthy of puniſhment, ſcarce of blame, ſaving but for that they abide by that name of lawes. But lawes ought to be ſuch, as that the keeping of them ſhould be greatly for the behoofe of the Common-weale, and the violating of them ſhould be very haynous, and ſharpely puniſhable. But tell us of ſome more weighty diſlikes in the Statutes then theſe, and that may more behoofully import the reformation of them.

Iren. There is one or two Statutes which make the wrongfull diſtraining of any mans goods againſt the forme of Common Law to be fellony. The which Statutes ſeeme ſurely to have beene at firſt meant for the good of that realme, and for reſtrayning of a foule abuſe, which then raigned commonly amongſt that people, and yet is not altogether laide aſide; that when any one was indebted to another, he would firſt demand his debt, and, if he were not payed, hee would ſtraight goe and

[h] *petronels.*] See Cotgrave's Fr. Dict. "*Petrinal*, a horſeman's peece, a *petronell.*" Hence the ſoldier, who ſerved with a *petronell*, was called *poictrinalier*. It appears to have been much the ſame as our *blunderbuſs*. See the Fr. *Encyclopédie* in V. TODD.

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take a diſtreſſe of his goods or cattell, where he could finde them, to the value; which he would keepe till he were ſatisfied, and this the ſimple churle (as they call him) doth commonly uſe to doe yet thorough ignorance of his miſdoing, or evill uſe that hath long ſettled amongſt them. But this, though it bee ſure moſt unlawfull, yet ſurely (me ſeemes) too hard to make it death, ſince there is no purpoſe in the party to ſteale the others goods, or to conceale the diſtreſſe, but doth it openly, for the moſt part before witneſſes. And againe, the ſame Statutes are ſo ſlackely penned (beſides the later of them is ſo unſenſibly contryved that it ſcarce carryeth any reaſon in it) that they are often and very eaſily wreſted to the fraude of the ſubject; as if one going to diſtrayne upon his own land or tenement, where lawfully he may, yet if in doing thereof he tranſgreſſe the leaſt point of the Common Law, hee ſtraight committeth fellony. Or if one by any other occaſion take any thing from another, as boyes uſe ſometimes to cap one another, the ſame is ſtraight fellony. This [is] a very hard law.

Eudox. Nevertheles that evill uſe of diſtrayning of another mans goods, yee will not deny but it is to be aboliſhed and taken away.

Iren. It is ſo, but not by taking away the ſubject withall; for that is too violent a medecine, eſpecially this uſe being permitted, and made lawfull to ſome, and to other ſome death. As to moſt of the corporate townes there it is graunted by their charter, that they may, every man by himſelfe, without an officer (for that were more tolerable) for any debt, to diſtraine the goods of any Iriſh, being found within their liberty, or but paſſing thorough their townes. And the firſt permiſſion of this was for that in thoſe times when that graunt was made, the Iriſh were not ameſnable to law, ſo as it was not ſafety for the townes-man to goe to him forth to de-

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maund his debt, nor poſſible to draw him into law, ſo that he had leave to bee his owne bayliffe, to arreſt his ſaid debters goods within his owne francheſe. The which the Iriſh ſeeing, thought it as lawfull for them to diſtrayne the townes-mans goods in the countrey where they found it. And ſo, by enſample of that graunt to townesmen, they thought it lawfull, and made it a uſe to diſtrayne on anothers goods for ſmall debts. And to ſay truth, mee thinkes it is hard for every trifling debt, of two or three ſhil[lings] to be driven to law, which is ſo farre from them ſometimes to be ſought; for which me thinketh it too heavy an ordinance to give death, eſpecially to a rude man that is ignorant of law, and thinketh, that a common uſe or graunt to other men is a law for himſelfe.

Eudox. Yea, but the judge, when it commeth before him to triall, may eaſily decide this doubt, and lay open the intent of the law by his better diſcretion.

Iren. Yea, but it is dangerous to leave the ſence of the law unto the reaſon or will of the judge[s], who are men and may bee miſcaried by affections, and many other meanes. But the lawes ought to bee like ſtony tables, plaine, ſtedfaſt, and unmoveable. There is alſo ſuch another Statute or two, which make Coigny and Livery to bee treaſon, no leſſe inconvenient then the former, being, as it is penned, how ever the firſt purpoſe thereof were expedient; for thereby now no man can goe into another mans houſe for lodging, nor to his owne tennants houſe to take victuall by the way, notwithſtanding that there is no other meanes for him to have lodging, nor horſe meate, nor mans meate, there being no innes, nor none otherwiſe to bee bought for money, but that he is endangered by that Statute for treaſon, whenſoever he ſhall happen to fall out with his tennant, or that his ſaid hoſte liſt to complaine of greivance, as often-

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times I have ſeene them very malitiouſly doe thorough the leaſt provocation.

Eudox. I doe not well know, but by gheſſe, what you doe meane by theſe termes of Coigny and Livery: therefore I pray you explaine them.

Iren. I know not whether the words bee Engliſh or Iriſh, but I ſuppoſe them to bee rather auncient Engliſh, for the Iriſhmen can make no derivation of them. What Livery is, wee by common uſe in England know well enough, namely, that it is allowance of horſe-meate, as they commonly uſe the word in ſtabling, as to keepe horſes at livery; the which word, I gueſſe, is derived of livering or delivering forth their nightly foode. So in great houſes, the livery is ſaid to be ſerved up for all night, that is their evenings allowance for drinke. And Livery is alſo called the upper weede which a ſerving man weareth, ſo called (as I ſuppoſe) for that it was delivered and taken from him at pleaſure: ſo it is apparent, that by the word Livery is there meant horſe-meate, like as by the word Coigny is underſtood mans meate; but whence the word is derived is hard to tell: ſome ſay of coine, for that they uſed commonly in their Coignies, not onely to take meate, but coine alſo; and that taking of money was ſpeciallie meant to be prohibited by that Statute: but I thinke rather this word Coigny is derived of the Iriſh. The which is a common uſe amongſt land-lords of the Iriſh, to have a common ſpending upon their tennants; for all their tennants, being commonly but tennants at will, they uſe to take of them what victuals they liſt, for of victuals they were wont to make ſmall reckoning: neither in this was the tennant wronged, for it was an ordinary and knowne cuſtome, and his Lord commonly uſed ſo to covenant with him, which if at any time the tennant diſliked, hee might freely depart at his pleaſure. But now by this Statute the ſaid Iriſh Lord

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is wronged, for that hee is cut off from his cuſtomary ſervices, of the which this was one, beſides many other of the like, as Cuddy, Coſhery, Bonnaght, Shrah, Sorehin, and ſuch others; the which (I thinke) were cuſtomes at firſt brought in by the Engliſh upon the Iriſh, for they were never wont, and yet are loth to yeeld any certaine rent, but only ſuch ſpendings: for their common ſaying is, "Spend me and defend me."

Eudox. Surely I take it as you ſay, that therein the Iriſh Lord hath wrong, ſince it was an auncient cuſtome, and nothing contrary to law, for to the willing there is no wrong done. And this right well I wot, that even heere in England, there are in many places as large cuſtomes as that of Coignie and Livery. But I ſuppoſe by your ſpeach, that it was the firſt meaning of the Statute to forbid the violent taking of victuals upon other mens tenants againſt their wills, which ſurely is a great outrage, and yet not ſo great (me ſeemes) as that it ſhould be made treaſon: for conſidering that the nature of treaſon is concerning the royall eſtate or perſon of the Prince, or practizing with his enemies, to the derogation and danger of his crowne and dignitie, it is hardly wreſted to make this treaſon. But (as you earſt ſaid) "better a miſchiefe then an inconvenience."

Iren. Another Statute I remember, which having beene an auncient Iriſh cuſtome is now upon adviſement made a law, and that is called the Cuſtome of Kin-cogiſh, which is, that every head of every ſept, and every chiefe of every kindred or family, ſhould be anſwerable and bound to bring foorth every one of that ſept and kindred under it at all times to be juſtified, when he ſhould be required or charged with any treaſon, felony, or other haynous crime.

Eudox. Why, ſurely this ſeemes a very neceſſary law. For conſidering that many of them bee ſuch loſells and

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ſcatterlings, as that they cannot eaſily by any ſheriffe, conſtable, bayliffe, or other ordinary officer bee gotten, when they are challenged for any ſuch fact; this is a very good meanes to get them to bee brought in by him, that is the head of that ſept, or chiefe of that houſe: wherfore I wonder what juſt exception you can make againſt the ſame.

Iren. Truely, Eudoxus, in the pretence of the good of this Statute you have nothing erred, for it ſeemeth very expedient and neceſſary; but the hurt which commeth thereby is greater then the good. For, whileſt every chiefe of a ſept ſtandeth ſo bound to the law for every man of his blood or ſept that is under him, he is made great by the commaunding of them all. For if hee may not commaund them, then that law doth wrong that bindeth him to bring them foorth to bee juſtified: and if hee may commaund them, then hee may commaund them aſwell to ill as to good. Hereby the lords and captaines of countreyes, the principall and heades of ſepts, are made ſtronger, whom it ſhould bee a moſt ſpeciall care in policie to weaken, and to ſet up and ſtrengthen diverſe of his underlings againſt him, which, whenſoever hee ſhall ſwarve from duty, may bee able to beard him; for it is very dangerous to leave the commaund of ſo many as ſome ſepts are, being five or ſixe thouſand perſons, to the will of one man, who may leade them to what he will, as he himſelfe ſhall be inclined.

Eudox. In very deede, Iren., it is very dangerous, ſeeing the diſpoſition of thoſe people is not alwayes inclineable to the beſt. And therefore I holde it no wiſedome to leave unto them too much commaund over their kindred, but rather to withdrawe their followers from them aſmuch as may bee, and to gather them under the commaund of law by ſome better meane then this cuſtom of Kin-cogiſh. The which word I would bee glad to know what it namely

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ſignifieth, for the meaning thereof I ſeeme to underſtand reaſonably well.

Iren. It is a word mingled of Engliſh and Iriſh together, ſo as I am partly ledde to thinke, that the cuſtome thereof was firſt Engliſh, and afterwardes made Iriſh; for ſuch an other law they had heere in England, as I remember, made by King Alured, that every gentleman ſhould bring foorth his kinred and followers to the law. So Kin is Engliſh, and Cogiſh affinitie in Iriſh.[1]

Eudox. Sith then wee that have thus reaſonably handled the inconveniences in the lawes, let us now paſſe unto the ſecond part, which was, I remember, of the abuſes of cuſtomes; in which, mee ſeemes, you have a faire champian layde open unto you, in which you may at large ſtretch out your diſcourſe into many ſweete remembrances of antiquities, from whence it ſeemeth that the cuſtomes of that nation proceeded.

Iren. Indeede, Eudox., you ſay very true; for all the cuſtomes of the Iriſh, which I have often noted and compared with that I have read, would miniſter occaſion of a moſt ample diſcourſe of the originall of them, and the antiquity of that people, which in truth I thinke to bee more auncient then moſt that I know in this end of the world; ſo as if it were in the handling of ſome man of ſound judgement and plentifull reading it would bee moſt pleaſant and profitable. But it may bee wee may, at ſome other time of meeting, take occaſion to treate thereof more at large. Heere onely it ſhall ſuffiſe to touch ſuch cuſtomes of the Iriſh as ſeeme offenſive, and repugnant to the good government of the realme.

Eudox. Follow then your owne courſe, for I ſhall the

[1] *Kin is Engliſh, and Cogiſh affinitie in Iriſh.*] I conceive the word to be rather altogether Iriſh; Kin ſignifying, in Iriſh, the head or chiefe of any ſept. SIR JAMES WARE.

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better content my ſelfe to forbeare my deſire now, in hope that you will, as you ſay, ſome other time more aboundantly ſatisfie it.

Iren. Before we enter into the treatie of their cuſtomes, it is firſt needfull to conſider from whence they firſt ſprung; for from the ſundry manners of the nations, from whence that people which now is called Iriſh were derived, ſome of the cuſtomes which now remain amongſt them have been firſt fetcht, and ſithence there continued amongſt them; for not of one nation was it peopled as it is, but of ſundry people of different conditions and manners. But the chiefeſt which have firſt poſſeſſed, and inhabited it, I ſuppoſe to bee Scythians.[k]

Eudox. How commeth it then to paſſe, that the Iriſh doe derive themſelves from Gathelus the Spaniard?

Iren. They doe indeed, but (I conceive) without any good ground. For if there were any ſuch notable tranſmiſſion of a colony hether out of Spaine, or any ſuch famous conqueſt of this kingdome by Gathelus, a Spaniard, as they would faine believe, it is not unlikely, but the very Chronicles of Spaine (had Spaine then beene in ſo high regard as they now have it) would not have omitted ſo memorable a thing, as the ſubduing of ſo

[k] *I ſuppoſe to bee Scythians.*] This diſcourſe, from the word "Scythians," unto the words in p. 338, "of whom I earſt ſpoke," is directed by Sir J. Ware wholly to be croſſed out, as being then agreeable to the beſt MS. copy; which paſſage is alſo omitted in the Manuſcript of this View belonging to the Marquis of Stafford: in which likewiſe is added after "to bee Scythians" the word *which*, thus connecting the words "at ſuch time as, &c." in p. 338. Todd. Touching the Scythians* or Scotts arrivall in Ireland, ſee Nennius an ancient Britiſh author (who lived in the yeare of Chriſt 858.) where among other things we have the time of their arrivall. Brittones (ſaith he) venerunt in 3. ætate mundi in Britanniam, Scythæ autem in 4. obtinuerunt Hiberniam. Sir James Ware.

* A regione quadam quæ dicitur Scythia: dicitur Scita, Sciticus, Scoticus, Scotus, Scotia. Tho. Walſingham, in Hypodigmate Neuſtriæ, ad an. 1185.

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noble a realme to the Spaniard, no more then they doe now neglect to memorize their conqueſt of the Indians, eſpecially in thoſe times, in which the ſame was ſuppoſed, being nearer unto the flouriſhing age of learning and writers under the Romanes. But the Iriſh doe heerein no otherwiſe, then our vaine Engliſh-men doe in the Tale of Brutus, whom they deviſe to have firſt conquered and inhabited this land, it being as impoſſible to proove, that there was ever any ſuch Brutus of Albion or England, as it is, that there was any ſuch Gathelus of Spaine. But ſurely the Scythians (of whom I earſt ſpoke) at ſuch time as the Northerne Nations overflowed all Chriſtendome, came downe to the ſea-coaſt, where inquiring for other countries abroad, and getting intelligence of this countrey of Ireland, finding ſhipping convenient, paſſed thither, and arrived in the North-part thereof, which is now called Ulſter, which firſt inhabiting, and afterwards ſtretching themſelves forth into the land as their numbers increaſed, named it all of themſelves Scuttenland, which more briefly is called Scutland, or Scotland.

Eudox. I wonder (Irenæus) whether you runne ſo farre aſtray; for whileſt wee talke of Ireland, mee thinks you rippe up the originall of Scotland, but what is that to this?

Iren. Surely very much, for Scotland and Ireland are all one and the ſame.

Eudox. That ſeemeth more ſtrange; for we all know right well they are diſtinguiſhed, with a great ſea running between them; or elſe there are two Scotlands.

Iren. Never the more are there two Scotlands, but two kindes of Scots were indeed (as you may gather out of Buchanan) the one Irin, or Iriſh Scots, the other Albin-Scots; for thoſe Scots are Scythians arrived (as I ſaid) in the North parts of Ireland, where ſome of them

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after paſſed into the next coaſt of Albine, now called Scotland, which (after much trouble) they poſſeſſed, and of themſelves named Scotland; but in proceſſe of time (as it is commonly ſeene) the dominion of the part prevaileth in the whole, for the Iriſh Scots putting away the name of Scots, were called only Iriſh, and the Albine Scots, leaving the name of Albine, were called only Scots. Therefore it commeth thence that of ſome writers Ireland is called Scotia-major, and that which now is called Scotland, Scotia-minor.

Eudox. I doe now well underſtand your diſtinguiſhing of the two ſorts of Scots, and two Scotlands, how that this which now is called Ireland was anciently called Erin, and afterwards of ſome written Scotland, and that which now is called Scotland was formerly called Albin, before the comming of the Scythes thither: but what other nation inhabited the other parts of Ireland?

Iren. After this people thus planted in the North, (or before, for the certaintie of times in things ſo farre from all knowledge cannot be juſtly avouched) another nation comming out of Spaine arrived in the Weſt part of Ireland, and finding it waſte, or weakely inhabited, poſſeſſed it: who whether they were native Spaniards, or Gaules, or Africans, or Gothes, or ſome other of thoſe Northerne Nations which did over-ſpread all Chriſtendome, it is impoſſible to affirme, only ſome naked conjectures may be gathered, but that out of Spaine certainely they came, that do all the Iriſh Chronicles agree.

Eudox. You doe very boldly, Iren., adventure upon the hiſtories of auncient times, and leane too confidently on thoſe Iriſh Chronicles which are moſt fabulous and forged, in that out of them you dare take in hand to lay open the originall of ſuch a nation ſo antique, as that no monument remaines of her beginning and firſt inhabiting; eſpecially having been in thoſe times without letters, but

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only bare traditions of times and remembrances of Bardes,[1] which uſe to forge and falſifie every thing as they liſt, to pleaſe or diſpleaſe any man.

Iren. Truly I muſt confeſs I doe ſo, but yet not ſo abſolutely as you ſuppoſe. I do herein rely upon thoſe Bardes or Iriſh Chroniclers, though the Iriſh themſelves, through their ignorance in matters of learning and deepe judgement, doe moſt conſtantly beleeve and avouch them, but unto them beſides I adde mine owne reading; and out of them both together, with compariſon of times, likewiſe of manners and cuſtomes, affinity of words and names, properties of natures and uſes, reſemblances of rites and ceremonies, monuments of churches and tombes, and many other like circumſtances, I doe gather a likelihood of truth; not certainely affirming any thing, but by conferring of times, language, monuments, and ſuch like, I doe hunt out a probability of things, which I leave to your judgement to believe or refuſe. Nevertheleſſe there be ſome very auncient authors that make mention of theſe things, and ſome moderne, which by comparing them with preſent times, experience, and their owne reaſon, doe open a window of great light unto the reſt that is yet unſeene; as namely, of the elder times, Cæſar, Strabo,

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[1] *remembrances of Bardes.*] Of the ancient Bards, or Poets, Lucan makes this mention in the firſt booke of his "Pharſalia:"—

"Vos quoque qui fortes anima, belloque peremptas
"Laudibus in longum vates dimittis ævum,
"Plurima ſecuri fudiſtis carmina Bardi."

The word ſignified among the Gaules a ſinger, as it is noted by Mr. Camden, and Mr. Selden, out of "Feſtus Pompeius," and it had the ſame ſignification among the Brittiſh. Sir John Price, in the deſcription of Wales, expounds it to bee one that had knowledge of things to come, and ſo (ſaith he) it ſignifieth at this day, taking his ground (amiſſe) out of Lucan's verſes. Doctor Powell, in his notes upon Caradoc of Lhancarvan, ſaith, that in Wales they preſerved gentlemens armes and pedigrees. At this time in Ireland the Bard, by common acceptation, is counted a rayling rimer, and diſtinguiſhed from the poet. Sir James Ware.

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Tacitus, Ptolomie, Pliny, Pomponius Mela, and Berosus: of the later, Vincentius, Æneas Sylvius, Luidus, Buchanan, for that hee himselfe, being an Irish Scot or Pict by nation,[m] and being very excellently learned, and industrious to seeke out the truth of all things concerning the originall of his owne people, hath both set downe the testimony of the auncients truely, and his owne opinion together withall very reasonably, though in some things he doth somewhat flatter. Besides, the Bardes and Irish Chroniclers themselves, though through desire of pleasing perhappes too much, and ignorances of arts and purer learning, they have clouded the truth of those lines; yet there appeares among them some reliques of the true antiquitie, though disguised, which a well eyed man may happily discover and finde out.

Eudox. How can [t]here be any truth in them at all, since the auncient nations which first inhabited Ireland were altogether destitute of letters, much more of learning, by which they might leave the verity of things written. And those Bardes, comming also so many hundred yeares after, could not know what was done in former ages, nor deliver certainty of any thing, but what they fayned out of their unlearned heads.

Iren. Those Bardes indeed, Cæsar writeth,[n] delivered

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[m] *an Irish Scot or Pict by nation.*] Bede tells us that the Picts were a colony of Scythians, who first comming into Ireland, and being denyed residence there by the Scots, were perswaded by them to inhabit the North parts of Britaine. But Mr. Camden, out of Dio, Herodian, Tacitus, &c. and upon consideration of the customes, name and language of the Picts, conceives, not improbably, that they were naturall Britons, although distinguished by name. SIR JAMES WARE.

[n] *Those Bardes indeed, Cæsar writeth.*] Concerning them I finde no mention in Cæsar's "Commentaries," but much touching the Druides, which were the priests and philosophers, (or Magi as Pliny calls them*) of the Gaules and British. "Illi rebus divinis intersunt, (saith he†) sacrificia publica ac privata procurant, religiones interpre-

* Hist. Nat. lib. 16. cap. 44. † De Bello Gallic. lib. 2.

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no certaine truth of any thing, neither is there any certaine hold to be taken of any antiquity which is received by tradition, ſince all men be lyars, and many lye when they wil; yet for the antiquities of the written Chronicles of Ireland give me leave to ſay ſomething, not to juſtifie them, but to ſhew that ſome of them might ſay truth. For where you ſay the Iriſh have alwayes bin without letters, you are therein much deceived, for it is certaine, that Ireland hath had the uſe of letters very anciently, and long before England.

Eudox. Is it poſſible? how comes it then that they are ſo unlearned ſtill, being ſo old ſchollers? For learning (as the Poet ſaith) "Emollit mores, nec ſinit eſſe feros:" whence then (I pray you) could they have thoſe letters?

Iren. It is hard to ſay: for whether they at their firſt comming into the land, or afterwards by trading with other nations which had letters, learned them of them, or deviſed them amongſt themſelves, is very doubtful; but that they had letters aunciently is nothing doubtfull, for the Saxons of England are ſaid to have their letters, and learning, and learned men, from the Iriſh, and that alſo appeareth by the likeneſſe of the character, for the Saxons character is the ſame with the Iriſh. Now the Scythians never, as I can reade, of old had letters amongſt them: therefore it ſeemeth that they had them from the nation which came out of Spaine, for in Spaine there was (as Strabo writeth) letters anciently uſed, whether brought unto them by the Phenicians, or the Perſians, which (as it appeareth by him) had ſome footing there, or from Marſellis, which is ſaid to have bin inhabited by the Greekes, and from them to have had the Greeke character;

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tantur. Ad hos magnus adoleſcentium numerus diſciplinæ cauſâ concurrit, magnoque ii ſunt apud eos honore, &c." The word ᵹꞃωι [Sax. Dꞃẏ.] had anciently the ſame ſignification (as I am informed) among the Iriſh. SIR JAMES WARE.

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of which Marſilians it is ſaid, that the Gaules learned them firſt, and uſed them only for the furtherance of their trades and privat buſines: for the Gaules (as is ſtrongly to be proved by many auncient and authentical writers) did firſt inhabite all the ſea coaſt of Spaine, even unto Cales and the mouth of the Straights, and peopled alſo a great part of Italy, which appeareth by ſundry havens and cities in Spaine called from them, as Portugallia, Gallecia, Galdunum; and alſo by ſundry nations therin dwelling, which yet have received their own names of the Gaules, as the Rhegni, Preſamarci, Tamari, Cineri, and divers others. All which Pomponius Mela, being himſelfe a Spaniard, yet ſaith to have deſcended from the Celts of France, whereby it is to be gathered, that that nation which came out of Spaine into Ireland were anciently Gaules, and that they brought with them thoſe letters which they had anciently learned in Spaine, firſt into Ireland, which ſome alſo ſay doe much reſemble the old Phenician character, being likewiſe diſtinguiſhed with pricke and accent, as theirs aunciently, but the further enquirie hereof needeth a place of longer diſcourſe then this our ſhort conference.

Eudox. Surely you have ſhewed a great probability of that which I had thought impoſſible to have bin proved; but that which you now ſay, that Ireland ſhould have bin peopled with the Gaules, ſeemeth much more ſtrange, for all the Chronicles doe ſay, that the weſt and ſouth was poſſeſſed and inhabited of Spaniards: and Cornelius Tacitus doth alſo ſtrongly affirme the ſame,° all which you muſt overthrow and falſifie, or elſe renounce your opinion.

° *and Cornelius Tacitus doth alſo ſtrongly affirme the ſame.*] Cornelius Tacitus, in the Life of Julius Agricola, ſaith thus. "Silurum colorati vultus, & torti plerumque crines, & poſitus contra Hiſpaniam, Iberos veteres trájeciſſe, eaſque ſedes occupâſſe fidem faciunt." This he ſpeaketh touching the Silures, which inhabited that part of South-Wales which now we call Herefordſhire, Radnorſhire, Brecknockſhire, Monmouthſhire, and Glamorganſhire. And although the like reaſon may be given for that part of Ireland which lyeth next unto Spaine,

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Iren. Neither ſo, nor ſo; for the Iriſh Chronicles (as I ſhewed you) being made by unlearned men, and writing things according to the appearance of the truth which they conceived, doe erre in the circumſtances, not in the matter. For all that came out of Spaine (they being no diligent ſearchers into the differences of the nations) ſuppoſed to be Spaniards, and ſo called them; but the groundwork thereof is nevertheleſſe true and certain, however, they through ignorance diſguiſe the ſame, or through vanity, whilſt they would not ſeem to be ignorant, doe thereupon build and enlarge many forged hiſtories of their owne antiquity, which they deliver to fooles, and make them believe for true: as for example, that firſt of one Gathelus the ſonne of Cecrops or Argos, who having married the King of Egypt his daughter, thence ſailed with her into Spaine, and there inhabited: Then that of Nemedus and his ſonnes, who comming

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yet in Tacitus we find no ſuch inference. Buchanan* indeed, upon the conjecture of Tacitus, hath theſe words: "Veriſimile autem non eſt Hiſpanos relictâ à tergo Hiberniâ, terra propiore, & coeli & ſoli mitioris, in Albium primùm deſcendiſſe, ſed primùm in Hiberniam appuliſſe, atque inde in Britanniâ colonos miſſos." Which was obſerved unto me by the moſt learned biſhop of Meth, Dr. Anth. Martin, upon conference with his Lordſhip about this point. One paſſage in Tacitus touching Ireland (in the ſame booke) I may not heere omit, although it be extra oleas. "Quinto expeditionum anno (ſaith he) nave primâ tranſgreſſus, ignotas ad id tempus gentes, crebris ſimul ac proſperis prœliis domuit, eamque partem Britanniæ quæ Hiberniam aſpicit, copiis inſtruxit, in ſpem magis quam ob formidinem. Siquidem Hibernia medio inter Britanniam atque Hiſpaniam ſita, & Gallico quoque mari opportuna valentiſſimam imperij partem magnis invicem uſibus miſcuerit. Spatium ejus ſi Britanniæ comparetur, anguſtius, noſtri maris inſulas ſuperat. Solum cœlumque & ingenia, cultuſq; hominum haud multùm à Britannia differunt, meliùs aditus portuſq; per commercia & negotiatores cogniti. Agricola expulſum ſeditione domeſticâ unum ex regulis gentis exceperat, ac ſpecie amicitiæ in occaſionem retinebat. Sæpè ex eo audivi Legione unâ & modicis auxilijs debellari, obtineríque Hiberniam poſſe. Idque adversùs Britanniam profuturum, ſi Romana ubique arma, & velut è conſpectu libertas tolleretur." Sir James Ware.

* Rer. Scot. Lib. 1.

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out of Scythia peopled Ireland, and inhabited it with his ſonnes 250 yeares, until he was overcome of the Giants dwelling then in Ireland, and at the laſt quite baniſhed and rooted out, after whom 200 yeares, the ſonnes of one Dela, being Scythians, arrived there againe, and poſſeſſed the whole land, of which the youngeſt, called Slanius, in the end made himſelfe Monarch.[p] Laſtly, of the 4 ſonnes of Mileſius King of Spaine, which conquered the land from the Scythians, and inhabited it with Spaniards, and called it of the name of the youngeſt, Hiberus, Hibernia: all which are in truth fables, and very Mileſian lyes, as the later proverbe is; for never was there ſuch a King of Spaine called Mileſius, nor any ſuch colonie ſeated with his ſonnes, as they faine, that can ever be proved; but yet under theſe tales you may in a manner ſee the truth lurke. For Scythians, here inhabiting, they name and put Spaniards, whereby appeareth that both theſe nations here inhabited, but whether very Spaniards, as the Iriſh greatly affect, is no wayes to be proved.

Eudox. Whence commeth it then that the Iriſh doe ſo greatly covet to fetch themſelves from the Spaniards, ſince the old Gaules are a more auncient and much more honorable nation?

Iren. Even of a very deſire of new fanglenes and vanity, for they derive themſelves from the Spaniards, as ſeeing them to be a very honorable people, and neere bordering unto them: but all that is moſt vaine; for from the Spaniards that now are, or that people that now inhabite Spaine, they no wayes can prove themſelves to deſcend;

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[p] *Slanius, in the end made himſelfe Monarch.*] The Iriſh ſtories have a continued ſucceſſion of the Kings of Ireland from this Slanius, untill the conqueſt by King Henry the ſecond, but very uncertaine, eſpecially untill the planting of religion by S. Patrick, at which time Lægarius, or Lagirius was monarch. SIR JAMES WARE.

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neither ſhould it be greatly glorious unto them; for the Spaniard, that now is, is come from as rude and ſavage nations as they, there being, as there may be gathered by courſe of ages and view of their owne hiſtory (though they therein labour much to enoble themſelves) ſcarce any drop of the old Spaniſh blood left in them; for all Spaine was firſt conquered by the Romans, and filled with colonies from them, which were ſtill increaſed, and the native Spaniard ſtill cut off. Afterwards the Carthaginians in all the long Punick Warres (having ſpoiled all Spaine, and in the end ſubdued it wholly unto themſelves) did, as it is likely, root out all that were affected to the Romans. And laſtly the Romans, having againe recovered that countrey and beate out Hannibal, did doubtleſſe cut off all that favored the Carthaginians, ſo that betwixt them both, to and fro, there was ſcarce a native Spaniard left, but all inhabited of Romans. All which tempeſts of troubles being over-blowne, there long after aroſe a new ſtorme, more dreadful then all the former, which over-ran all Spaine, and made an infinite confuſion of all things; that was, the comming downe of the Gothes, the Hunnes, and the Vandals: And laſtly all the nations of Scythia, which, like a mountaine flood, did over-flowe all Spaine, and quite drowned and waſht away whatſoever reliques there was left of the land-bred people, yea, and of all the Romans too. The which Northern Nations finding the nature of the ſoyle, and the vehement heat thereof farre differing from their conſtitutions, tooke no felicity in that countrey, but from thence paſſed over, and did ſpread themſelves into all countryes of Chriſtendome, of all which there is none but hath ſome mixture or ſprinckling, if not throughly peopling of them. And yet after all theſe the Moores and the Barbarians, breaking over out of Africa, did finally poſſeſſe all Spaine, or the moſt part thereof, and did tread under their heatheniſh

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feete whatever little they found yet there ſtanding. The which, though after they were beaten out by Ferdinando of Arragon and Elizabeth his wife, yet they were not ſo cleanſed, but that through the marriages which they had made, and mixture with the people of the land, during their long continuance there, they had left no pure drop of Spaniſh blood, no more than of Roman or of Scythian. So that of all nations under heaven (I ſuppoſe) the Spaniard is the moſt mingled, and moſt uncertaine; wherefore moſt fooliſhly doe the Iriſh thinke to enoble themſelves by wreſting their auncientry from the Spaniard, who is unable to derive himſelfe from any in certaine.

Eudox. You ſpeake very ſharpely, Iren., in diſpraiſe of the Spaniard, whom ſome others boaſt to be the onely brave nation under the ſkie.

Iren. So ſurely he is a very brave man; neither is that any thing which I ſpeake to his derogation, for in that I ſaid he is a mingled people, it is no diſpraiſe, for I thinke there is no nation now in Chriſtendome, nor much further, but is mingled, and compounded with others: for it was a ſingular providence of God, and a moſt admirable purpoſe of his wiſedome, to draw thoſe Northerne Heathen Nations downe into thoſe Chriſtian parts, where they might receive Chriſtianity, and to mingle nations ſo remote miraculouſly, to make, as it were, one blood and kindred of all people, and each to have knowledge of him.

Eudox. Neither have you ſure any more diſhonoured the Iriſh, for you have brought them from very great and ancient nations, as any were in the world, how ever fondly they affect the Spaniſh. For both Scythians and Gaules were two as mighty nations as ever the world brought forth. But is there any token, denomination or monument of the Gaules yet remaining in Ireland, as there is of the Scythians?

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Iren. Yea ſurely very many words of the Gaules remaining, and yet dayly uſed in common ſpeech.

Eudox. What was the Gauliſh ſpeech? is there any part of it ſtill uſed among any nation?

Iren. The Gauliſh ſpeech is the very Britiſh, the which was very generally uſed here in all Brittaine before the comming of the Saxons; and yet is retained of the Welchmen, Corniſhmen, and the Brittaines of France, though time, working the alteration of all things, and the trading and interdeale with other nations round about, have changed and greatly altered the dialect thereof: but yet the originall words appeare to be the ſame, as who hath liſt to read in Camden and Buchanan, may ſee at large. Beſides, there be many places, as havens, hills, townes, and caſtles, which yet beare the names from the Gaules, of the which Buchanan rehearſeth above 500 in Scotland, and I can (I thinke) recount neere as many in Ireland which retaine the old denomination of the Gaules, as the Menapii, Cauci, Venti, and others; by all which and many other reaſonable probabilities (which this ſhort courſe will not ſuffer to be laid forth) it appeareth that the cheife inhabitants in Ireland were Gaules, comming thither firſt out of Spaine, and after from beſides Tanais, where the Gothes, the Hunnes, and the Getes ſate down, they alſo being (as it is ſaid of ſome) ancient Gaules; and laſtly paſſing out of Gallia it ſelfe, from all the ſea-coaſt of Belgia and Celtica, into al the ſoutherne coaſts of Ireland, which they poſſeſſed and inhabited, whereupon it is at this day, amongſt the Iriſh a common uſe to call any ſtranger inhabitant there amongſt them, Gald, that is, deſcended from the Gaules.

Eudox. This is very likely, for even ſo did thoſe Gaules anciently poſſeſſe all the ſoutherne coaſts of our Brittaine, which yet retaine their old names, as the Belgæ in Somerſet-ſhire, Wiltſhire, and part of Hamſhire, Attre-

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batii in Berkeſhire, Regni in Suſſex and Surry, and many others. Now thus farre then I underſtand your opinion, that the Scythians planted in the North part of Ireland; the Spaniards (for ſo we call them, what ever they were that came from Spaine) in the Weſt; the Gaules in the South: ſo that there now remaineth the Eaſt parts towards England, which I would be glad to underſtand from whence you doe think them to be peopled.

Iren. Mary, I thinke of the Brittaines themſelves, of which though there be little footing now remaining, by reaſon that the Saxons afterwards, and laſtly the Engliſh, driving out the inhabitants thereof, did poſſeſſe and people it themſelves. Yet amongſt the Tooles, the Birns, or Brins, the Cavenaghes, and other nations in Leinſter, there is ſome memory of the Britans remayning; as the Tooles are called of the old Britiſh word Tol, that is, a Hill Countrey, the Brins of the Britiſh word Brin, that is, Woods, and the Cavenaghes of the word Caune, that is, ſtrong; ſo that in theſe three people the very denomination[s] of the old Britons doe ſtill remaine. Beſides, when any flieth under the ſuccour and protection of any againſt an enemie, he cryeth unto him, Comericke, that is in the Brittiſh Helpe, for the Brittaine is called in their owne language, Comeroy. Furthermore to prove the ſame, Ireland is by Diodorus Siculus, and by Strabo, called Britannia,[q] and a part of Great Brittaine. Finally it appeareth by good record yet extant, that King Arthur, and before him Gurgunt,[r] had all that iland under their

[q] *Ireland is by Diodorus Siculus, and by Strabo, called Britannia.*] Iris is by Diodorus called a part of Brittaine: but Ireland by neither of them Britannia. SIR JAMES WARE.

[r] *King Arthur, and before him Gurgunt.*] Concerning King Arthur's conqueſt of Ireland, ſee Geffry of Monmuth, and Matthew of Weſtminſter, at the yeare 525, where he is ſaid to have landed in Ireland with a great army, and in a battle to have taken King Gilla-Mury priſoner, and forced the other princes to ſubjection. In our Annals it

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alleagiance and ſubjection: hereunto I could add many probabilities of the names of places, perſons, and ſpeeches, as I did in the former, but they ſhould be too long for this, and I reſerve them for another. And thus you have had my opinion, how all that realme of Ireland was firſt peopled, and by what nations. After all which the Saxons ſucceeding, ſubdued it wholly to themſelves. For firſt Egfrid, King of Northumberland, did utterly waſte and ſubdue it, as appeareth out of Beda's complaint againſt him; and after him King Edgar brought it under his obedience, as appeareth by an auncient Record, in which it is found written that he ſubdued all the iſlands of the North, even unto Norway, and brought them into his ſubjection.

Eudox. This ripping of aunceſtors, is very pleaſing unto me, and indeede ſavoureth of good conceipt, and ſome reading withall. I ſee hereby how profitable travaile, and experience of forraine nations, is to him that will apply them to good purpoſe. Neither indeede would I have thought, that any ſuch antiquities could have beene avouched for the Iriſh, that maketh me the more to long to ſee ſome other of your obſervations, which you have gathered out of that country, and have earſt half promiſed to put forth: and ſure in this mingling of nations appeareth (as you earſt well noted) a wonderfull providence and purpoſe of Almighty God, that ſtirred up the people in the furtheſt parts of the world to ſeeke out their regions ſo remote from them, and by that meanes both to reſtore their decayed habitations, and to make himſelfe knowne to the Heathen. But was there, I pray you, no more generall employing of that iland, then firſt

appeares that Moriertach (the ſonne of Ercæ) was at that time King of Ireland, of which name ſome reliques ſeeme to be in Gilla-Mury, Gilla being but an addition uſed with many names, as Gilla-Patrick, &c. But in the country writers (which I have ſeene) I find not the leaſt touch of this conqueſt. Sir James Ware.

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by the Scythians, which you ſay were the Scottes, and afterwards by the Spaniards, beſides the Gaules, Brittaines, and Saxons?

Iren. Yes, there was another, and that laſt and greateſt, which was by the Engliſh, when the Earle Strangbowe, having conquered that land, delivered up the ſame into the hands of Henry the ſecond, then King, who ſent over thither great ſtore of gentlemen, and other warlike people, amongſt whom he diſtributed the land,[s] and ſetled

[s] *amongſt whom he diſtributed the land.*] King Henry the 2. gave to Richard Strongbow* Earle of Striguil or Penbroke, all Leinſter, excepting the citty of Dublin, and the cantreds adjoyning with the maritime townes and caſtles. Unto Robert fitz Stephen,† and Miles de Cogan he granted the kingdome of Corke, excepting the citty of Corke, and the Oſtmans cantred. And unto Philip de Bruſe‡ the kingdome of Limericke. But in a confirmation of King John to William de Bruſe (or Braos) nephew to this Philip, wee finde that hee gave to him onely honorem de Limerick,§ retentis in dominico noſtro (as the words of the charter are) civitate de Limerick & donationibus epiſcopatuum & abbatiarum, & retentis in manu noſtrâ cantredo Oſtmannorum & S. inſulâ. Among other large graunts (remembred by Hoveden) which this King Henry gave to the firſt adventurers, that of Meth to Sir Hugh de Lacy is of ſpeciall note. The grant was in theſe words:—

"Henricus Dei gratiâ Rex Angliæ, & Dux Normanniæ, & Aquitaniæ, & comes Andegauiæ. Archiepiſcopis, Epiſcopis, Abbatibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Juſtitiarijs, & omnibus miniſtris & fidelibus ſuis Francis, Anglis & Hibernienſibus totius terræ ſuæ, Salutem. Sciatis me dediſſe & conceſſiſſe, & præſenti chartâ meâ confirmâſſe Hugoni de Lacy pro ſervitio ſuo, terram de Midiâ cum omnibus pertinentijs ſuis per ſervitium quinquaginta militum ſibi & hæredibus ſuis, tenendum & habendum à me & hæredibus meis, ſicut Murchardus Hu-melathlin eam tenuit, vel aliquis alius ante illum vel poſteà. Et de incremento illi dono omnia feoda quæ præbuit, vel quæ præbebit circa Duveliniam, dum Balivus meus eſt, ad faciendum mihi ſervitium apud civitatem meam Duveliniæ. Quare volo & firmiter præcipio, ut ipſe Hugo & hæredes ſui poſt eum prædictam terram habeant, & teneant omnes libertates & liberas conſuetudines, quas ibi habeo vel habere poſſum per prænominatum ſervitium, à me & hæredibus meis, benè & in pace, liberè, & quietè, & honorificè, in boſco & plano, in pratis & paſcuis, in

* Gir. Camb. Hib. Expugn. lib. 1. cap. 28.
† Vid. Rog. de Hoveden, pag. 567. edit. Franc. & Camd. Brit. p. 379.
‡ Rog. de Hoveden, ibid.
§ Chart. an 2. Io. in arce Lond.

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ſuch a ſtrong colonie therein, as never ſince could, with all the ſubtle practices of the Iriſh, be rooted out, but abide

aquis & molédinis, in vivarijs & ſtagnis, & piſcationibus & venationibus, in vijs, & ſemitis, & portubus maris, & in omnibus aliis locis, & alijs rebus ad eam pertinentibus cum omnibus libertatibus, quas ibi habeo, vel illi dare poſſum, & hâc meâ chartâ confirmare. Teſt. comite Richardo filio Gilberti Willielmo de Braoſa, &c. Apud Weisford."

But above all other graunts made by K. Henry the 2. that to his ſonne John is moſt memorable. "Deinde (ſaith Hoveden*) venit rex Oxenford, & in generali concilio ibidem celebrato conſtituit Johannem filium ſuum Regem in Hibernià, conceſſione & confirmatione Alexandri ſummi Pontificis." By virtue of this graunt both in the life time of his father, and in the raigne of his brother King Richard, he was ſtiled in all his charters Dominus Hiberniæ, and directed them thus, "Joannes Dominus Hiberniæ, & comes Morton. Archiepiſcopis, epiſcopis, comitibus, baronibus, Juſtitiarijs, vice comitibus, conſtabularijs, & omnibus ballivis & miniſtris ſuis totius Hiberniæ, ſalutem." Thus we have it frequently (although ſometimes with a little variation) in the Regiſters of St. Mary abbey, and Thomaſcourt by Dublin. How the Earle in Leinſter, and Lacy in Meth, diſtributed their lands, (beſides what they retained in their owne hands) is delivered by Maurice Regan, (interpreter to Dermot Mac Murrough King of Leinſter) who wrote the hiſtorie of thoſe times in French verſe. The booke was tranſlated into Engliſh by Sir George Carew Lo. Preſident of Mounſter, afterwards Earle of Totnes, and communicated to me, by our moſt reverend and excellently learned primate. There wee finde that the Earle gave to Reymond le Groſe† in marriage with his ſiſter Fotherd, Odrone, and Glaſearrig; unto Hervy de Mount-mariſh, hee gave Obarthy; unto Maurice de Prindergraſt, Fernegenall, which was afterwards conferred upon Robert fitz Godobert, but by what meanes he obtained it (ſaith Regan) I know not. Unto Meiler Fitz Henry he gave Carbry; unto Maurice Fitz Gerald‡ the Naas Oſelin (which had beene poſſeſſed by Mackelan) and Wickloe; unto Walter de Ridelesford he gave the lands of Omorthy; unto John de Clahul the Marſhalſhip of Leinſter, and the land betweene Aghabo and Leghlin; unto Robert de Birmingham Oſaly; and unto Adam de Hereford large poſſeſſions. What theſe poſſeſſions were, are thus noted in the Regiſter of Thomaſcourt abbey, where ſpeaking of the Earle, "Poſteà Lagenià perquiſitâ, erat quidam

* In Hen. 2. p. 566.

† Conſul. Gir. Camb. Hib. Expugn. lib. 2. cap. 4.

‡ This Maurice ſoone after deceaſing at Wexford, King John, then Earle of Moreton, confirmed to his ſonne William Fitz Maurice cantredum terræ quem Makelanus tenuit, illum ſc. in quo villa de Naas ſita eſt, quam comes Richardus dedit Mauritio patri ipſius Willielmi. Thus the charter, habetur in ros. com. placit. an. 10. Hen. 6. in turri Birminghamiano.

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ſtill a mighty people, of ſo many as remaine Engliſh of them.

Eudox. What is this that you ſay, of ſo many as remaine Engliſh of them? Why, are not they that were once Engliſh, Engliſh ſtill?

Iren. No, for ſome of them are degenerated and

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juvenis cum eo quem multùm dilexit, & dedit eidem pro ſervitio ſuo terras & tenementa ſubſcripta, viz. tenementum de ſaltu Salmonis, Cloncoury, Kill, Houterard, & tenementum de Donning cum omnibus ſuis pertinentiis." Thus the Regiſter. This Adam de Hereford was founder of St. Wulſtan's priory neere Leixlip in the county of Kildare. But we proceed with Regan. Unto Miles Fitz David, who was one of his chiefe favorites, he gave Overk in Oſſory; to Thomas de Flemming, Arde; to Gilbert de Borard, Ofelmith; to a knight called Reinand he gave 15 knight's fees adjoyning to the ſea; and to one Robert (who was afterwards ſlaine in Connaught) the Norragh. What partition Lacy made in Meth he thus delivers. Unto his ſpeciall friend Hugh Tirrell he gave Caſtleknock: and unto William Petit Caſtlebreck. I have ſeene an ancient deede made by Sir Hugh de Lacy to this William Petit wherein among other things he graunts unto him Matherethirnan "cum omnibus pertinentiis ſuis, exceptis Lacu & villâ quæ dicitur Diſſert, &c." Unto the valiant Meiler Fitz Henry (ſayth Regan) he gave Magherneran, the lands of Rathkenin, and the cantred of Athnorker. Unto Gilbert de Nangle all Magherigallen; unto Jocelin, the ſonne of Gilbert de Nangle, the Navan and the land of Ardbraccan: unto Richard de Tuite he gave faire poſſeſſions; unto Robert de Lacy Rathwer; unto Richard de la Chappell he gave much land; unto Geffry de Conſtantine Kilbiſky and Rathmarthy: unto Adam de Feipo, Gilbert de Nugent, William de Miſſet, and Hugh de Hoſe, he gave large inheritances. In Lacyes graunt to Feipo, we finde that he gave him Skrine, "et præterea (ſayth the deede*) feodum unius militis circa Duvelinam, ſcil. Clantorht & Santref. &c." In his graunt to Gilbert de Nugent, (the originall whereof I have ſeene, with an impreſſion upon the ſeale of a Knight armed and mounted,) he gave to him Delvin, "quam in tempore Hibernicorum tenuerunt O-Finelans, cum omnibus pertinentiis & villis, quæ infra prædictam Delvin continentur, exceptâ quadam villâ Abbatis Fouræ nomine Torrochelaſch pro ſervitio 5. militum." Thus the charter. To Miſſet hee gave Luin, and to Huſſey or Hoſe Galtrim. Regan proceeds. Unto Adam Dullard hee gave the lands of Dullenvarthy; unto one Thomas he gave Cramly: Timlath began north eaſt from Kenlis, Lathrachalim, and Sendevonath; and unto Richard le Flemming he gave Crandon at twenty Knights fees. Sir James Ware.

* Magn. regiſt. mon. B. Mariæ juxta Dublin. fol. 76.

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growne almoſt mere Iriſh, yea and more malitious to the Engliſh then the Iriſh themſelves.

Eudox. What heare I? And is it poſſible that an Engliſhman, brought up in ſuch ſweet civility as England affords, ſhould find ſuch likeing in that barbarous rudenes, that he ſhould forget his owne nature, and forgoe his owne nation? how may this bee, or what (I pray you) may be the cauſe thereof?

Iren. Surely, nothing but the firſt evill ordinance and inſtitution of that Common-wealth. But thereof here is no fit place to ſpeake, leaſt, by the occaſion thereof offering matter of a long diſcourſe, we might be drawne from this that we had in hand, namely, the handleing of abuſes in the cuſtomes of Ireland.

Eudox. In truth, Iren., you doe well remember the plot of your firſt purpoſe; but yet from that (me ſeemes) ye have much ſwarved in all this long diſcourſe, of the firſt inhabiting of Ireland; for what is that to your purpoſe?

Iren. Truely very materiall; for if you marked the courſe of all that ſpeech well, it was to ſhew by what meanes the cuſtomes, that now are in Ireland, being ſome of them indeede very ſtrange and almoſt heatheniſh, were firſt brought in: and that was, as I ſaid, by thoſe nations from whom that countrey was firſt peopled; for the difference in manners and cuſtomes doth follow the difference of nations and people: the which I have declared to you to have been three eſpecially, which ſeated themſelves here; to wit, firſt the Scythian, then the Gaules, and laſtly the Engliſh. Notwithſtanding that I am not ignorant, that there were ſundry nations which got footing in that land, of the which there yet remaine divers great families and ſepts, of whom I will alſo in their proper places make mention.

Eudox. You bring your ſelfe, Iren., very well into the way againe, notwithſtanding that it ſeemeth that you

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were never out of the way, but now that you have paſſed thorough thoſe antiquities, which I could have wiſhed not ſo ſoone ended, begin, when you pleaſe, to declare what cuſtomes and manners have beene derived from thoſe nations to the Iriſh, and which of them you finde fault withall.

Iren. I will begin then to count their cuſtomes in the ſame order that I counted their nations, and firſt with the Scythian or Scottiſh manners. Of the which there is one uſe amongſt them, to keepe their cattle, and to live themſelves the moſt part of the yeare in boolies, paſturing upon the mountaine, and waſte wilde places; and removing ſtill to freſh land, as they have depaſtured the former. The which appeareth plaine to be the manner of the Scythians, as you may read in Olaus Magnus, and Jo. Bohemus, and yet is uſed amongſt all the Tartarians and the people about the Caſpian Sea, which are naturally Scythians, to live in heards as they call them, being the very ſame that the Iriſh boolies are, driving their cattle continually with them, and feeding onely on their milke and white meats.

Eudox. What fault can you finde with this cuſtome? for though it be an old Scythian uſe, yet it is very behoofefull in this country of Ireland, where there are great mountaines, and waſte deſerts full of graſſe, that the ſame ſhould be eaten downe, and nouriſh many thouſands of cattle for the good of the whole realme, which cannot (me thinks) well be any other way, then by keeping thoſe boolies there, as yee have ſhewed.

Iren. But by this cuſtome of boolying there grow in the meane time many great enormityes unto that Common-wealth. For firſt, if there bee any out-lawes, or looſe people, (as they are never without ſome) which live upon ſtealthes and ſpoyles, they are evermore ſuccoured and finde releife only in theſe boolies, being upon the waſte places, whereas elſe they ſhould be driven ſhortly

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to ſtarve, or to come downe to the townes to ſeeke releiſe, where, by one meanes or other, they would ſoone be caught. Beſides, ſuch ſtealthes of cattle as they make, they bring commonly to thoſe boolies, being upon thoſe waſte places where they are readily received, and the theiſe harboured from danger of law, or ſuch officers as might light upon him. Moreover, the people that thus live in thoſe boolies grow thereby the more barbarous, and live more licentiouſly than they could in townes, uſing what manners they liſt, and practizing what miſcheiſes and villainies they will, either againſt the government there, by their combynations, or againſt private men, whom they maligne, by ſtealing their goods, or murdering themſelves. For there they thinke themſelves halfe exempted from law and obedience, and having once taſted freedome, doe, like a ſteere that hath beene long out of his yoke, grudge and repyne ever after to come under rule again.

Eudox. By your ſpeech, Iren., I perceive more evill come by this uſe of boolies, than good by their graſing; and therefore it may well be reformed: but that muſt be in his due courſe: do you proceed to the next.

Iren. They have another cuſtome from the Scythians, that is the wearing of Mantles, and long glibbes,[t] which is a thicke curled buſh of haire, hanging downe over their eyes, and monſtrouſly diſguiſing them, which are both very bad and hurtfull.

Eudox. Doe you thinke that the mantle commeth from the Scythians? I would ſurely think otherwiſe, for by that which I have read, it appeareth that moſt nations of

[t] *and long glibbes*, &c.] "In Terconnell the haire of their head growes ſo long and curled, that they goe bare-headed, and are called *Glibs*; the women, *Glibbins*." Gainsford's "Glory of England," 4to. Lond. 1618, p. 151. Todd. Todd ſeems to have forgotten that the "hairy glib" has been mentioned by Spenſer in his F. Q. B. iv. C. 8. St. 12, vol. iii. p. 214, where ſee the note. C.

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the world aunciently uſed the mantle. For the Jewes uſed it, as you may read of Elyas mantle, &c. The Chaldees alſo uſed it, as yee may read in Diodorus. The Egyptians likewiſe uſed it, as yee may read in Herodotus, and may be gathered by the deſcription of Berenice, in the Greeke Commentary upon Callimachus. The Greekes alſo uſed it aunciently, as appeareth by Venus mantle lyned with ſtarrs, though afterwards they changed the form thereof into their cloakes, called Pallia,[u] as ſome of the Iriſh alſo uſe. And the auncient Latines and Romans uſed it, as you may read in Virgil, who was a very great antiquary,—that Evander, when Ænæas came to him at his feaſt, did entertaine and feaſt him, ſitting on the ground, and lying on mantles. Inſomuch as he uſeth the very word mantile for a mantle.

"——— Humi mantilia ſternunt."[x]

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[u] *they changed the form thereof into their cloakes, called Pallia.*] As the Romans had their gowne called toga, ſo the ancient outward veſtiment of the Grecians was called Pallium, by ſome tranſlated a mantle, although it be now commonly taken for a cloake, which doth indeed ſomewhat reſemble a mantle. By theſe different kinds of habit, the one was ſo certainly diſtinguiſhed from the other, that the word *togatus* was often uſed to ſignifie a Roman, and Palliatus a Grecian, as it is obſerved by Mr. Tho. Godwin* out of Sigonius.† "Togati (ſaith he) pro Romanis dicti, ut Palliati pro Græcis." But that the ancient Latines and Romans uſed it, as the author alledgeth, (out of I know not what place in Virgil) appeareth no way unto mee. That the gowne was their uſuall outward garment is moſt certaine, and that commonly of wooll, finer or courſer according to the dignity of the perſon that wore it. Whence Horace, "Satyr." 3. lib. 1.

——— "Sit mihi menſa tripes, et
"Concha ſalis puri, et toga quæ defendere frigus,
"Quamvis craſſa, queat."

And from this difference betweene the ancient Roman and Grecian habit grew the proverbs, "modò palliatus, modò togatus," and "de togâ ad pallium," to denote an unconſtant perſon. Sir James Ware.

[x] "——— *Humi mantilia ſternunt.*"] Evanders entertainment of Æneas, is ſet out in the 8. booke of Virgils Æneis, but there we have

* Romanæ hiſtor. antholog. lib. 2. ſect. 3. cap. 7.
† Deind. l. 3. cap. 19.

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So that it ſeemeth that the mantle was a generall habite to moſt nations, and not proper to the Scythians onely, as you ſuppoſe.

Iren. I cannot deny but that aunciently it was common to moſt, and yet ſithence diſuſed and laide away. But in this later age of the world, ſince the decay of the Romane empire, it was renewed and brought in againe by thoſe Northerne Nations when, breaking out of their cold caves and frozen habitations into the ſweet ſoyle of Europe, they brought with them their uſual weedes, fit to ſheild the cold, and that continual froſt, to which they had at home beene inured: the which yet they left not off, by reaſon that they were in perpetual warres with the nations whom they had invaded, but, ſtill removing from place to place, carried always with them that weed, as their houſe, their bed, and their garment; and, comming laſtly into Ireland, they found there more ſpeciall uſe thereof, by reaſon of the raw cold climate, from whom it is now growne into that general uſe in which that people now have it. After whom the Gaules ſucceeding, yet finding the like neceſſitie of that garment, continued the like uſe thereof.

Eudox. Since then the neceſſity thereof is ſo commodious, as you alledge, that it is inſteed of houſing, bedding, and cloathing, what reaſon have you then to wiſh ſo neceſſarie a thing caſt off?

Iren. Becauſe the commoditie doth not countervaile the diſcommoditie, for the inconveniences which thereby doe ariſe are much more many; for it is a fit houſe for

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no ſuch word as mantile. In his entertainment by Dido we have it, but in another ſence. "Æneid." lib. 1.

"Jam pater Æneas, & jam Trojana juventus
"Conveniunt, ſtratoque ſuper diſcumbitur oſtro,
"Dant famuli manibus lymphas, Cereremque caniſtris
"Expediunt, tonſiſque ferunt mantilia villis."

SIR JAMES WARE.

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an out-law, a meet bed for a rebel, and an apt cloke for a thiefe. Firſt the out-law being for his many crimes and villanyes baniſhed from the townes and houſes of honeſt men, and wandring in waſte places, far from danger of law, maketh his mantle his houſe, and under it covereth himſelfe from the wrath of heaven, from the offence of the earth, and from the ſight of men. When it raineth it is his pent-houſe; when it bloweth it is his tent; when it freezeth it is his tabernacle. In Sommer he can wear it looſe, in winter he can wrap it cloſe; at all times he can uſe it; never heavy, never cumberſome. Likewiſe for a rebell it is as ſerviceable; for in his warre that he maketh (if at leaſt it deſerve the name of warre) when he ſtill flyeth from his foe, and lurketh in the thicke woods and ſtraite paſſages, waiting for advantages, it is his bed, yea, and almoſt his houſhold ſtuff. For the wood is his houſe againſt all weathers, and his mantle is his couch to ſleep in. Therein he wrappeth himſelf round, and coucheth himſelfe ſtrongly againſt the gnats, which in that countrey doe more annoy the naked rebels, whilſt they keepe the woods, and doe more ſharply wound them then all their enemies ſwords or ſpears, which can ſeldome come nigh them: yea, and oftentimes their mantle ſerveth them when they are neere driven, being wrapped about their left arme in ſtead of a target, for it is hard to cut thorough with a ſword, beſides it is light to beare, light to throw away, and, being (as they commonly are) naked, it is to them all in all. Laſtly, for a theife it is ſo handſome, as it may ſeem it was firſt invented for him; for under it he may cleanly convey any fit pillage that commeth handſomly in his way, and when he goeth abroad in the night in free-booting, it is his beſt and ſureſt friend; for lying, as they often do, 2 or 3 nights together abroad to watch for their booty, with that they can prettily ſhroud themſelves under a buſh

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or a bank ſide, till they may conveniently do their errand: and when all is over, he can in his mantle paſſe thorough any town or company, being cloſe hooded over his head, as he uſeth, from knowledge of any to whom he is indangered. Beſides this, he, or any man els that is diſpoſed to miſchief or villany, may under his mantle goe privily armed without ſuſpicion of any, carry his headpeece, his ſkean,[y] or piſtol if he pleaſe, to be alwayes in readines. Thus neceſſary and fitting is a mantle for a bad man, and ſurely for a bad huſwife it is no leſſe convenient, for ſome of them that bee wandring woemen, called of them Mona-ſhul, it is halfe a wardrobe; for in Summer you ſhal find her arrayed commonly but in her ſmock and mantle, to be more ready for her light ſervices: in Winter, and in her travaile, it is her cloake and ſafeguard, and alſo a coverlet for her lewde exerciſe. And when ſhe hath filled her veſſell, under it ſhe can hide both her burden, and her blame; yea, and when her baſtard is borne it ſerves inſteed of ſwadling clouts. And as for all other good women which love to doe but little worke, how handſome it is to lye in and ſleepe, or to louſe themſelves in the ſun-ſhine, they that have beene but a while in Ireland can well witnes. Sure I am that you will thinke it very unfit for a good huſwife to ſtirre in, or to buſie her ſelfe about her huſwifry in ſuch ſort as ſhe ſhould. Theſe be ſome of the abuſes for which I would thinke it meet to forbid all mantles.

Eudox. O evill minded man, that having reckoned up ſo many uſes of a mantle, will yet wiſh it to be abandoned! Sure I thinke Diogenes diſh did never ſerve his maſter for more turnes, notwithſtanding that he made it his

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[y] *his ſkean.*] A "ſkean," or "ſkena," was a *ſhort ſword, dagger,* or *knife,* and ſeems to have been a weapon particularly Iriſh. See the note on "Romeo and Juliet," A. ii. Sc. 4. Shakeſpeare's Works, by Collier, 1858, vol. v. p. 141.

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diſh, his cup, his cap, his meaſure, his water-pot, then a mantle doth an Iriſh man. But I ſee they be moſt to bad intents, and therefore I will joyne with you in aboliſhing it. But what blame lay you to the glibbe? take heed (I pray you) that you be not too buſie therewith for feare of your owne blame, ſeeing our Engliſhmen take it up in ſuch a generall faſhion to weare their haire ſo immeaſurably long, that ſome of them exceed the longeſt Iriſh glibs.

Iren. I feare not the blame of any undeſerved diſlikes; but for the Iriſh glibbes, they are as fit maſkes as a mantle is for a thiefe. For whenſoever he hath run himſelfe into that perill of law that he will not be knowne, he either cutteth off his glibbe quite, by which he becommeth nothing like himſelfe, or pulleth it ſo low downe over his eyes, that it is very hard to diſcerne his theeviſh countenance. And therefore fit to be truſſed up with the mantle.

Eudox. Truly theſe three Scythian abuſes, I hold moſt fit to bee taken away with ſharpe penalties; and ſure I wonder how they have beene kept thus long, notwithſtanding ſo many good proviſions and orders as have beene deviſed for that people.

Iren. The cauſe thereof ſhall appeare to you hereafter; but let us now go forward with our Scythian cuſtomes. Of which the next that I have to treat of is the manner of raiſing the cry in their conflicts, and at other troubleſome times of uproare: the which is very natural Scythian, as you may read in Diodorus Siculus, and in Herodotus, deſcribing the manner of the Scythians and Parthians comming to give the charge at battles: at which it is ſaid, that they came running with a terrible yell, as if heaven and earth would have gone together, which is the very image of the Iriſh hubbub, which their kerne uſe[z] at their

[z] *which their kerne uſe*, &c.] The *kern* is the Iriſh *foot-ſoldier*; and

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firſt encounter. Beſides, the ſame Herodotus writeth, that they uſed in their battles to call upon the names of their captains or generals, and ſometimes upon their greateſt kings deceaſed, as in that battle of Thomyris againſt Cyrus:[a] which cuſtome to this day manifeſtly appeareth amongſt the Iriſh. For at their joyning of battle, they lykewiſe call upon their captaines name, or the word of his aunceſtours. As they under Oneale cry Laundarg-abo, that is, the bloody hand, which is Oneales badge: they under O Brien call Laun-laider, that is, the ſtrong hand. And to their enſample, the old Engliſh alſo which there remayneth have gotten up their cryes Scythian-like, as Crom-abo, and Butler-abo. And here alſo lyeth open an other manifeſt proofe that the Iriſh bee Scythes or Scots, for in all their incounters they uſe one very common word, crying Ferragh, Ferragh, which is a Scottiſh word, to wit, the name of one of the firſt Kings of Scotland, called Feragus, or Fergus, which fought againſt the Pictes, as you may reade in Buchanan de rebus Scoticis; but as others write, it was long before that, the name of their chiefe Captaine, under whom they fought againſt the Africans, the which was then ſo fortunate unto them, that ever ſithence they have uſed to call upon his name in their battailes.

Eudox. Believe me, this obſervation of yours, Irenæus, is very good and delightfull; far beyond the blinde conceipt of ſome, who (I remember) have upon the ſame word Ferragh, made a very blunt conjecture; as namely

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is alſo employed in this ſenſe by Shakeſpeare. See likewiſe Gainsford's "Glory of England," 4to. 1618, p. 149: "The name of *Galliglas* is in a manner extinct, but of KERN in great reputation, as ſerving them [the Iriſh] in their revolts; and proving [in]ſufficient ſouldiers, but excellent for ſkirmiſh." Again, p. 150: "They [the Iriſh] are deſperate in revenge; and their *kerne* thinke no man dead, untill his head be off." TODD. In "Macbeth," A. i. Sc. 2, we have both "kerns" and "gallowglaſſes." See alſo "Henry VI. Pt. 2," A. iv. Sc. 9. C.

[a] *as in that battle of Thomyris againſt Cyrus.*] Herodotus in the deſcription of that battle hath no ſuch thing. SIR JAMES WARE.

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Mr. Stanihurſt, who though he be the ſame countrey man borne, that ſhould ſearch more neerly into the ſecret of theſe things, yet hath ſtrayed from the truth all the heavens wyde (as they ſay,) for he thereupon groundeth a very groſſe imagination, that the Iriſh ſhould deſcend from the Egyptians which came into that iſland, firſt under the leading of one Scota the daughter of Pharaoh, whereupon they uſe (ſaith he) in all their battailes to call upon the name of Pharaoh, crying Ferragh,[b] Ferragh. Surely he ſhootes wyde on the bow hand, and very far from the marke. For I would firſt know of him what auncient ground of authority he hath for ſuch a ſenſeleſſe fable, and if he have any of the rude Iriſh bookes, as it may be hee hath, yet (me ſeemes) that a man of his learning ſhould not ſo lightly have bin carried away with old wives tales from approvance of his owne reaſon; for whether it be a ſmack of any learned judgment to ſay that Scota is like an Egyptian word let the learned judge. But his Scota rather comes of the Greek σκότος, that is, darkneſs, which hath not let him ſee the light of the truth.

Iren. You know not, Eudoxus, how well M. Stan. could ſee in the darke; perhaps he hath owles or cats eyes, but well I wot he ſeeth not well the very light in matters of more weight. But as for Ferragh I have told my conjecture only, and yet thus much I have more to prove a likelyhood, that there be yet at this day in Ireland, many Iriſh men (chiefly in the Northerne parts) called by the name of Ferragh. But let that now be: this only for this place ſuffiſeth, that it is a word uſed in their

[b] *to call upon the name of Pharaoh, crying Ferragh.*] The vulgar Iriſh ſuppoſe the ſubject of this war-ſong to have been *Forroch*, or *Ferragh*, (an eaſy corruption of *Pharroh*, which Selden, in his notes on Drayton's Polyolbion, ſays was the war-ſong once in uſe amongſt the Iriſh kerns,) a terrible giant, of whom they tell many a marvellous tale. See Mr. Walker's "Hiſt. Mem. of the Iriſh Bards," notes, p. 96, and Mr. Warton's note on *Sir Ferraugh*, F. Q. iv. ii. 4. Todd. It will be found in this edit. vol. iii. p. 105. C.

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common hububs, the which (with all the reſt) is to be aboliſhed, for that it diſcovereth an affectation to Iriſh captainry, which in this platform I indeavour ſpecially to beat down. There be other ſorts of cryes alſo uſed among the Iriſh, which ſavour greatly of the Scythian barbariſme, as their lamentations at their buryals, with diſpairfull out-cryes, and immoderate waylings, the which M. Stanihurſt might alſo have uſed for an argument to proove them Egyptians. For ſo in Scripture it is mentioned, that the Egyptians lamented for the death of Joſeph. Others thinke this cuſtome to come from the Spaniards, for that they doe immeaſurably likewiſe bewayle their dead; but the ſame is not proper Spaniſh, but altogether heatheniſh, brought in thither firſt either by the Scythians, or the Moores, that were Africans and long poſſeſſed that countrey. For it is the manner of all Pagans and Infidels to be intemperate in their waylings of their dead, for that they had no faith nor hope of ſalvation. And this ill cuſtome alſo is ſpecially noted by Diodorus Siculus, to have beene in the Scythians, and is yet amongſt the Northerne Scots at this day, as you may reade in their chronicles.

Eudox. This is ſure an ill cuſtome alſo, but yet doth not ſo much concerne civill reformation, as abuſe in religion.

Iren. I did not rehearſe it as one of the abuſes which I thought moſt worthie of reformation; but having made mention of Iriſh cryes I thought this manner of lewd crying and howling not impertinent to be noted as uncivill and Scythian-like: for by theſe old cuſtomes, and other like conjecturall circumſtances, the deſcents of nations can only be proved, where other monuments of writings are not remayning.

Eudox. Then (I pray you) whenſoever in your diſcourſe you meet with them by the way, doe not ſhun, but

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boldly touch them; for beſides their great pleaſure and delight for their antiquity, they bring alſo great profit and helpe unto civility.

Iren. Then ſith you will have it ſo, I will heere take occaſion, ſince I lately ſpake of their manner of cryes in joyning of battaile, to ſpeake alſo ſomewhat of the manner of their armes, and array in battell, with other cuſtomes perhappes worthy the noting. And firſt of their armes and weapons,[c] amongſt which their broad ſwordes are proper Scythian, for ſuch the Scythes uſed commonly, as you may read in Olaus Magnus. And the ſame alſo the old Scots uſed, as you may read in Buchanan, and in Solinus, where the pictures of them are in the ſame forme expreſſed. Alſo their ſhort bowes, and little quivers with ſhort bearded arrowes, are alſo very Scythian,[d] as you may reade in the ſame Olaus. And the ſame ſort, both of bowes, quivers, and arrowes, are at this day to bee ſeene commonly amongſt the Northerne Iriſh-Scots, whoſe Scottiſh bowes are not paſt three quarters of a yard long, with a ſtring of wreathed hempe ſlackley bent, and whoſe arrowes are not much above halfe an ell long, tipped with ſteele heads, made like common broad arrow heades, but much more ſharpe and ſlender, that they enter into a man or horſe moſt cruelly, notwithſtanding that they are ſhot forth weakely. Moreover, their long broad ſhields, made but with wicker roddes, which are commonly uſed amongſt the ſaid Northerne Iriſh, but eſpecially of the Scots, are brought from the Scythians, as you may read in Olaus

[c] *And firſt of their armes and weapons.*] This ſubject is illuſtrated with great care, in the following work: "An Hiſtorical Eſſay on the Dreſs of the ancient and modern Iriſh; to which is ſubjoined a Memoir of the Armour and Weapons of the Iriſh. By Joſeph Cooper Walker, Eſq. M.R.I.A." Dublin [London], 1788. TODD.

[d] *Scythian.*] The originall of the very name Scythians ſeemeth to come from ſhooting. Vide Selden, Annot. in Poly-olb. (ex. Gorop. Becan. Becceſel. et. Aluredi leg.) p. 133. SIR JAMES WARE.

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Magnus, Solinus, and others: likewiſe their going to battle without armor on their bodies or heads, but truſting to the thicknes of their glibbs, the which (they ſay) will ſometimes beare off a good ſtroke, is meere Scythian, as you may ſee in the ſaid images of the old Scythes or Scots, ſet foorth by Herodianus and others. Beſides, their confuſed kinde of march in heapes, without any order or array, their claſhing of ſwords together, their fierce running upon their enemies, and their manner of fight, reſembleth altogether that which is read in hiſtories to have been uſed by the Scythians. By which it may almoſt infallibly be gathered, together with other circumſtances, that the Iriſh are very Scots or Scythes originally, though ſithence intermingled with many other nations repairing and joyning unto them. And to theſe I may alſo adde another ſtrong conjecture which commeth to my mind, that I have often obſerved there amongſt them; that is, certain religious ceremonies, which are very ſuperſtitiouſly yet uſed amongſt them, the which are alſo written by ſundry authors, to have been obſerved amongſt the Scythians, by which it may very vehemently be preſumed that the nations were anciently all one. For Plutarch[e] (as I remember) in his Treatiſe on Homer, endeavouring to ſearch out the truth, what countryman Homer was, proveth it moſt ſtrongly (as he thinketh) that he was an Æolian borne; for that in deſcribing a ſacrifice of the Greekes, he omitted the loyne, the which all the other Grecians (ſaving the Æolians) uſe[d] to burne in their ſacrifices: alſo for that he makes the intralls to be roſted on five ſpits, which was the proper manner of the Æolians, who onely, of all the nations of Grecia, uſed to ſacrifize in that ſort. By which he inferreth, neceſſarily, that Homer

[e] *Plutarch.*] Not he, but Herodotus, in the Life of Homer. Sir James Ware.

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was an Æolian. And by the ſame reaſon may I as reaſonably conclude, that the Iriſh are deſcended from the Scythians; for that they uſe (even to this day) ſome of the ſame ceremonies which the Scythians anciently uſed. As for example, you may reade in Lucian, in that ſweet dialogue which is intitled Toxaris or of friendſhip, that the common oath of the Scythians was by the ſword, and by the fire,[f] for that they accounted thoſe two ſpeciall divine powers, which ſhould worke vengeance on the perjurers. So doe the Iriſh at this day, when they goe to battaile, ſay certaine prayers or charmes to their ſwords, making a croſſe therewith upon the earth, and thruſting the points of their blades into the ground; thinking thereby to have the better ſucceſſe in fight. Alſo they uſe commonly to ſweare by their ſwords. Alſo the Scythians uſed, when they would binde any ſolemne vow or combination amongſt them, to drink a bowle of blood together,[g] vowing thereby to ſpend their laſt blood in that quarrel: and even ſo do the wild Scots, as you may read in Buchanan; and ſome of the Northerne Iriſh. Likewiſe at the kindling of the fire, and lighting of candles, they ſay certaine prayers, and uſe ſome other ſuperſtitious rites, which ſhew that they honour the fire and the light; for all thoſe Northerne nations, having beene uſed to be annoyed with much colde and darkeneſſe, are wont therefore to have the fire and the ſunne in great veneration: like as contrarywiſe the

[f] *by the ſword, and by the fire.*] Lucian hath it, *by the ſword, and by the wind.* Somewhat may be gathered to this purpoſe out of the Ulſter Annals,* where Lægarius (or Lagerius) a heathen King of Ireland, being taken priſoner by the Leinſter men, is ſaid to have bin releaſed upon an oath, which was per ſolem et ventum. Sir James Ware.

[g] *to drink a bowle of blood together,* &c.] See Mela, lib. II. cap. I. Other nations alſo obſerved this cuſtom. See Herodotus, l. I. c. 74. Todd.

* An. 458.

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Moores and Egyptians, which are much offended and grieved with extreame heat of the ſunne, doe every morning, when the ſunne ariſeth, fall to curſing and banning of him as their plague. You may alſo reade in the ſame booke, in the Tale of Arſacomas, that it was the manner of the Scythians, when any one of them was heavily wronged, and would aſſemble unto him any forces of people to joyne with him in his revenge, to ſit in ſome publicke place for certaine dayes upon an oxe hide, to which there would reſort all ſuch perſons as being diſpoſed to take armes, would enter into his pay, or joyne with him in his quarrel. And the ſame you may likewiſe reade to have beene the ancient manner of the wilde Scotts, which are indeed the very naturall Iriſh. Moreover, the Scythians uſed to ſweare by their Kings hand, as Olaus ſheweth. And ſo do the Iriſh uſe now to ſweare by their Lords hand, and, to forſweare it, holde it more criminall than to ſweare by God. Alſo the Scythians ſaid, That they were once a yeare turned into wolves, and ſo is it written of the Iriſh: though Maſter Camden in a better ſenſe doth ſuppoſe it was a diſeaſe, called Lycanthropia,[h] ſo named of the wolfe. And yet ſome of the Iriſh doe uſe to make the wolfe their goſſip. The Scythians uſed alſo to ſeethe the fleſh in the hide; and ſo doe the Northerne Iriſh. The Scythians uſed to

[h] *a diſeaſe, called Lycanthropia.*] "Among theſe humors of Melancholy the phiſitions place a kinde of madnes, by the Greeks called *Lycanthropia*, termed by the Latines *Inſania Lupina*, or *Wolves furie*: which bringeth a man to this point, (as Altomare affirmeth) that in Februarie he will goe out of the houſe in the night like a wolfe, hunting about the graves of the dead with great howling; and plucke the dead mens bones out of the ſepulchers, carrying them about the ſtreets, to the greate feare and aſtoniſhment of all them that meete him. And the foreſaide author affirmeth, that melancholike perſons of this kinde have pale faces, ſoaked and hollow eies, with a weak ſight, never ſhedding one tear to the view of the world, &c." "The Hoſpitall of Incurable Fooles," (a tranſlation from the Italian,) 4to. 1600, p. 19. TODD.

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draw the blood of the beaſt living, and to make meat thereof: and ſo do the Iriſh in the North ſtill. Many ſuch cuſtomes I could recount unto you, as of their old manner of marrying, of burying, of dancing, of ſinging, of feaſting, of curſing, though Chriſtians have wyped out the moſt part of them, by reſemblance whereof it might plainly appeare to you that the nations are the ſame, but that by the reckoning of theſe few, which I have told unto you, I finde my ſpeech drawne out to a greater length then I purpoſed. Thus much onely for this time, I hope, ſhall ſuffiſe you, to thinke that the Iriſh are anciently deduced from the Scythians.

Eudox. Surely, Iren., I have heard, in theſe few words, that from you which I would have thought had bin impoſſible to have bin ſpoken of times ſo remote, and cuſtomes ſo ancient: with delight whereof I was all that while as it were intranced, and carried ſo farre from my ſelfe, as that I am now right ſorry that you ended ſo ſoone. But I marvaile much how it commeth to paſſe, that in ſo long continuance of time, and ſo many ages come betweene, yet any jot of thoſe olde rites and ſuperſtitious cuſtomes ſhould remaine amongſt them.

Iren. It is no cauſe of wonder at all; for it is the maner of many nations to be very ſuperſtitious, and diligent obſervers of old cuſtomes and antiquities; which they receive by continuall tradition from their parents, by recording of their Bards and Chronicle[r]s, in their ſongs, by daylie uſe and enſample of their elders.

Eudox. But have you (I pray you) obſerved any ſuch cuſtomes amongſt them, brought likewiſe from the Spaniards or Gaules, as theſe from the Scythians? that may ſure be very materiall to your firſt purpoſe.

Iren. Some perhaps I have; and who that will by this occaſion more diligently marke and compare their cuſtomes ſhall finde many more. But there are fewer re-

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mayning of the Gaules or Spaniards then of the Scythians, by reaſon that the partes, which they then poſſeſſed, lying upon the coaſt of the Weſterne and Southerne Sea, were ſithence viſited with ſtrangers and forraine people, repayring thither for trafficke, and for fiſhing, which is very plentifull upon thoſe coaſts: for the trade and interdeale of ſea-coaſt nations one with another worketh more civilitie and good faſhions, (all ſea men being naturally deſirous of new faſhions,) then amongſt the inland folke, which are ſeldome ſeene of forrainers; yet ſome of ſuch as I have noted, I will recount unto you. And firſt I will, for the better credit of the reſt, ſhew you one out of their Statutes, among which it is enacted that no man ſhall weare his beard onely on the upper lip, ſhaving all his chinne. And this was the auncient manner of the Spaniards, as yet it is of all the Mahometans to cut off all their beards cloſe, ſave onelie their muſchachios, which they weare long. And the cauſe of this uſe was for that they, being bred in a hot countrey, found much haire on their faces and other parts to be noyous unto them: for which cauſe they did cut it moſt away, like as contrarily all other nations, brought up in cold countreys, do uſe to nouriſh their haire, to keepe them the warmer, which was the cauſe that the Scythians and Scottes wore Glibbes (as I ſhewed you) to keepe their heads warme, and long beards to defend their faces from cold. From them alſo (I thinke) came ſaffron ſhirts and ſmocks, which was deviſed by them in thoſe hot countryes, where ſaffron is very common and rife, for avoyding that evill which commeth by much ſweating, and long wearing of linnen: alſo the woemen amongſt the old Spaniards had the charge of all houſhold affaires, both at home and abroad, (as Bo[h]emus writeth) though now the Spaniards uſe it quite otherwiſe. And ſo have the Iriſh woemen the truſt and care of all things, both at

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home, and in the field. Likewiſe round leather targets is the Spaniſh faſhion, who uſed it (for the moſt part) painted, which in Ireland they uſe alſo, in many places, coloured after their rude faſhion. Moreover the manner of their woemens riding on the wrong ſide of the horſe, I meane with their faces towards the right ſide, as the Iriſh uſe, is (as they ſay) old Spaniſh, and ſome ſay African, for amongſt them the woemen (they ſay) uſe ſo to ride: Alſo the deepe ſmocke ſleive, which the Iriſh woemen uſe, they ſay, was old Spaniſh, and is uſed yet in Barbary: and yet that ſhould ſeeme rather to be an old Engliſh faſhion; for in armory the faſhion of the Manche, which is given in armes by many, being indeede nothing elſe but a ſleive, is faſhioned much like to that ſleive. And that Knights in auncient times uſed to weare their miſtreſſes or loves ſleive, upon their armes,[1] as appeareth by that which is written of Sir Launcelot, that he wore the ſleive of the faire Maide of Aſteloth in a tourney, whereat Queene Gueneuer was much diſpleaſed.

Eudox. Your conceipt is good, and well fitting for things ſo far growne from certainty of knowledge and learning, onely upon likelyhoods and conjectures. But have you any cuſtomes remaining from the Gaules or Brittaines?

Iren. I have obſerved a few of either; and who will better ſearch into them may finde more. And firſt the profeſſion of their Bardes was (as Cæſar writeth) uſuall amongſt the Gaules; and the ſame was alſo common amongſt the Brittans, and is not yet altogether left off with the Welſh which are their poſterity. For all the faſhions of the Gaules and Brittaines, as he teſtifieth,

[1] *uſed to weare their miſtreſſes or loves ſleive, upon their armes.*] This cuſtom is noticed in "Colin Clout's come Home again." Todd.

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were much like. The long darts came alſo from the Gaules, as you may read in the ſame Cæſar, and in Jo. Bo[h]emus. Likewiſe the ſaid Jo. Bo[h]emus writeth, that the Gaules uſed ſwords a handfull broad, and ſo doe the Iriſh now. Alſo they uſed long wicker ſhields in battaile that ſhould cover their whole bodies, and ſo doe the Northerne Iriſh; but I have not ſeene ſuch faſhioned targets uſed in the Southerne parts, but onely amongſt the Northerne people, and Iriſh-Scottes. I doe thinke that they were brought in rather by the Scythians, then by the Gaules. Alſo the Gaules uſed to drinke their enemyes blood, and painte themſelves therewith: ſo alſo they write, that the old Iriſh were wont, and ſo have I ſeene ſome of the Iriſh doe, but not their enemyes but freinds blood. As namely at the execution of a notable traytor at Limericke, called Murrogh O-Brien, I ſaw an old woman, which was his foſter mother, take up his head, whilſt he was quartered, and ſucked up all the blood that runne thereout, ſaying, that the earth was not worthy to drinke it, and therewith alſo ſteeped her face and breaſt, and tore her haire, crying out and ſhrieking moſt terribly.

Eudox. You have very well runne through ſuch cuſtomes as the Iriſh have derived from the firſt old nations which inhabited the land; namely, the Scythians, the Spaniards, the Gaules, and the Brittaines. It now remaineth that you take in hand the cuſtomes of the old Engliſh which are amongſt the Iriſh: of which I doe not thinke that you ſhall have much cauſe to finde fault with, conſidering that by the Engliſh moſt of the old bad Iriſh cuſtomes were aboliſhed, and more civill faſhions brought in their ſtead.

Iren. You think otherwiſe, Eudox., then I doe; for the cheifeſt abuſes which are now in that realme, are growne from the Engliſh, and ſome of them are now

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much more lawleſſe and licentious then the very wilde Iriſh: ſo that as much care as was by them had to reforme the Iriſh, ſo and much more muſt now bee uſed to reforme them; ſo much time doth alter the manners of men.

Eudox. That ſeemeth very ſtrange which you ſay, that men ſhould ſo much degenerate from their firſt natures as to growe wilde.

Iren. So much can liberty and ill examples doe.

Eudox. What liberty had the Engliſh there, more then they had here at home? Were not the lawes planted amongſt them at the firſt, and had they not governours to curbe and keepe them ſtill in awe and obedience?

Iren. They had, but it was, for the moſt part, ſuch as did more hurt then good; for they had governours for the moſt part of themſelves, and commonly out of the two families of the Geraldines and Butlers, both adverſaries and corrivales one againſt the other. Who though, for the moſt part, they were but deputies under ſome of the Kings of Englands ſonnes, brethren, or other neare kinſmen, who were the Kings lieutenants, yet they ſwayed ſo much, as they had all the rule, and the others but the title. Of which Butlers and Geraldynes, albeit (I muſt confeſſe) there were very brave and worthy men, as alſo of other the Peeres of that realme, made Lo: Deputies, and Lo: Juſtices at ſundry times, yet thorough greatnes of their late conqueſts and ſeignories they grew inſolent, and bent both that regall authority, and alſo their private powers, one againſt another, to the utter ſubverſion of themſelves, and ſtrengthning of the Iriſh againe. This you may read plainely diſcovered by a letter written from the citizens of Cork out of Ireland, to the Earle of Shrewſbury then in England, and remaining yet upon record, both in the Towre of London,

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and alſo among the Chronicles of Ireland. Wherein it is by them complained, that the Engliſh Lords and Gentlemen, who then had great poſſeſſions in Ireland, began, through pride and inſolency, to make private warres one againſt another, and, when either part was weak, they would wage and draw in the Iriſh to take their part, by which meanes they both greatly encouraged and inabled the Iriſh, which till that time had beene ſhut up within the Mountaines of Slewlogher, and weakened and diſabled themſelves, inſomuch that their revenues were wonderfully impaired, and ſome of them, which are there reckoned to have been able to have ſpent 12 or 1300 pounds per annum, of old rent, (that I may ſay no more) beſides their commodities of creekes and havens, were now ſcarce able to diſpend the third part. From which diſorder, and through other huge calamities which have come upon them thereby, they are almoſt now growne like the Iriſh: I meane of ſuch Engliſh as were planted above towards the Weſt; for the Engliſh Pale hath preſerved it ſelfe, thorough nearenes of the ſtate, in reaſonable civilitie, but the reſt which dwelt in Connaght and in Mounſter, which is the ſweeteſt ſoyle of Ireland, and ſome in Leinſter and Ulſter, are degenerate, yea, and ſome of them have quite ſhaken off their Engliſh names, and put on Iriſh that they might bee altogether Iriſh.

Eudox. Is it poſſible that any ſhould ſo farre growe out of frame that they ſhould in ſo ſhort ſpace, quite forget their countrey and their owne names? that is a moſt dangerous lethargie, much worſe then that of Meſſala Corvinus, who, being a moſt learned man, thorough ſickeneſſe forgat his owne name. But can you count us any of this kinde?

Iren. I cannot but by report of the Iriſh themſelves,

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who report, that the Mac-mahons,[k] in the North, were aunciently Engliſh; to wit, deſcended from the Fitz Urſulas, which was a noble family in England, and that the ſame appeareth by the ſignification of their Iriſh names. Likewiſe that the Mac-ſwynes, now in Ulſter, were aunciently of the Veres in England, but that they themſelves, for hatred of Engliſh, ſo diſguiſed their names.

Eudox. Could they ever conceive any ſuch diſlike of their owne natural countryes, as that they would bee aſhamed of their name, and byte at the dugge from which they ſucked life?

Iren. I wote well there ſhould be none; but proud hearts doe oftentimes (like wanton colts) kicke at their mothers, as we read Alcibiades and Themiſtocles did, who, being baniſhed out of Athens, fled unto the Kings of Aſia, and there ſtirred them up to warre againſt their country, in which warres they themſelves were cheiftaines. So they ſay did theſe Mac-ſwines and Mac-mahons, or rather Veres and Fitz-Urſulaes, for private deſpight, turne themſelves againſt England. For at ſuch time as Robert Vere, Earl of Oxford, was in the Barons warres againſt King Richard the Second, through the mallice of the Peeres, baniſhed the realme and proſcribed, he with his kinſman Fitz Urſula fled into Ireland, where being proſecuted, and afterwards in England put to death, his kinſman, there remaining behinde in Ireland, rebelled, and, conſpiring with the Iriſh, did quite caſt off both their Engliſh name and alleagiance, ſince which time they have ſo remained ſtill, and have ſince beene counted meere Iriſh. The very like is alſo re-

[k] *Mac-mahons*, &c.] Theſe families of Mac-mahones and Mac-ſwines are by others held to be of the ancient Iriſh. SIR JAMES WARE.

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ported of the Mac-ſwines, Mac-mahones, and Mac-ſhehies of Mounſter, how they likewiſe were aunciently Engliſh, and old followers to the Earle of Deſmond, untill the raigne of King Edward the Fourth: at which time the Earle of Deſmond that then was, called Thomas, being through falſe ſubornation (as they ſay) of the Queene for ſome offence by her againſt him conceived, brought to his death at Tredagh[l] moſt unjuſtly, notwithſtanding that he was a very good and ſound ſubject to the King. Thereupon all his kinſemen of the Geraldines, which then was a mighty family in Mounſter, in revenge of that huge wrong, roſe into armes againſt the King, and utterly renounced and forſooke all obedience to the Crowne of England; to whom the ſaid Mac-ſwines, Mac-ſhehies, and Mac-mahones, being then ſervants and followers, did the like, and have ever ſithence ſo continued. And with them (they ſay) all the people of Mounſter went out, and many other of them, which were meere Engliſh, thenceforth joyned with the Iriſh againſt the King, and termed themſelves very Iriſh, taking on them Iriſh habits and cuſtomes, which could never ſince be cleane wyped away, but the contagion hath remained ſtill amongſt their poſterityes. Of which ſort (they ſay) be moſt of the ſurnames which end in an, as Heenan, Shinan, Mungan, &c. the which now account themſelves naturall Iriſh. Other great houſes there bee of the Engliſh in Ireland, which thorough licentious converſing with the Iriſh, or marrying, or foſtering with them, or lacke of meete nurture, or other ſuch unhappy occaſions, have degendred[m] from their auncient dignities, and are now

[l] *Tredagh.*] Others hould that he was beheaded at Tredagh, 15. Febr. 1467, by (the command of) John Tiptoft Earle of Worceſter, then Lo: Deputy of Ireland, for exacting of Coyne and Livery. Vid. Camden. Britan. pag. 738. edit. Londin. an. 1607. SIR JAMES WARE.

[m] *degendred.*] This is the manuſcript reading, and confirms the uſe of

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growne as Iriſh as O-hanlans breech, as the proverbe there is.[n]

Eudox. In truth this which you tell is a moſt ſhamefull hearing, and to be reformed with moſt ſharp cenſures in ſo great perſonages, to the terrour of the meaner: for if the lords and cheife men degenerate, what ſhall be hoped of the peaſants, and baſer people? And hereby ſure you have made a faire way unto your ſelfe to lay open the abuſes of their evill cuſtomes, which you have now next to declare, the which, no doubt, but are very bad, being borrowed from the Iriſh, as their apparell, their language, their riding, and many other the like.

Iren. You cannot but hold them ſure to be very uncivill; for were they at the beſt that they were of old, when they were brought in, they ſhould in ſo long an alteration of time ſeeme very uncouth and ſtrange. For it is to be thought, that the uſe of all England, was in the raigne of Henry the Second when Ireland was planted with Engliſh, very rude and barbarous, ſo as if the ſame ſhould be now uſed in England by any, it would ſeeme worthy of ſharpe correction, and of new lawes for reformation, for it is but even the other day ſince England grew civill: therefore in counting the evill cuſtomes of the Engliſh there, I will not have regard whether the beginning thereof were Engliſh or Iriſh, but will have reſpect onely to the inconvenience thereof. And firſt I have to finde fault with the abuſe of language, that is, for the ſpeaking of Iriſh among the Engliſh, which as it is unnaturall

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the word by Spenſer on another occaſion. [See vol. iii. p. 306]. The printed copies read *degenerated.* TODD.

[n] *as the proverbe there is.*] The Manuſcripts belonging to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and the Marquis of Stafford add three "moſt pittifull examples of this ſort," then exiſting; and the mention of them is made in very ſevere terms. They are "the Lord Bremingham, the great Mortimer, and the old Lord Courcie." TODD.

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that any people ſhould love anothers language more then their owne, ſo it is very inconvenient, and the cauſe of many other evills.

Eudox. It ſeemeth ſtrange to me that the Engliſh ſhould take more delight to ſpeake that language then their owne, whereas they ſhould (mee thinkes) rather take ſcorne to acquaint their tongues thereto: for it hath ever beene the uſe of the conquerour to deſpiſe the language of the conquered, and to force him by all meanes to learne his. So did the Romans alwayes uſe, inſomuch that there is almoſt no nation in the world, but is ſprinckled with their language. It were good therefore (me ſeemes) to ſearch out the originall cauſe of this evill; for, the ſame being diſcovered, a redreſſe thereof will the more eaſily be provided: For I thinke it very ſtrange, that the Engliſh being ſo many, and the Iriſh ſo few, as they then were left, the fewer ſhould draw the more unto their uſe.

Iren. I ſuppoſe that the cheife cauſe of bringing in the Iriſh language, amongſt them, was ſpecially their foſtering, and marrying with the Iriſh, the which are two moſt dangerous infections; for firſt the childe that ſucketh the milke of the nurſe, muſt of neceſſity learne his firſt ſpeach of her, the which being the firſt inured to his tongue, is ever after moſt pleaſing unto him, inſomuch as though hee afterwards be taught Engliſh, yet the ſmacke of the firſt will allwayes abide with him; and not onely of the ſpeach, but alſo of the manners and conditions. For beſides that yong children be like apes, which will affect and imitate what they ſee done before them, eſpecially by their nurſes whom they love ſo well, they moreover drawe into themſelves, together with their ſucke, even the nature and diſpoſition of their nurſes: for the minde followeth much the temperature of the body; and alſo the words are the image of the minde, ſo as, they proceeding from the minde, the minde muſt needes be

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affected with the words. So that the ſpeach being Iriſh, the heart muſt needes bee Iriſh; for out of the abundance of the heart, the tongue ſpeaketh. The next is the marrying with the Iriſh, which how dangerous a thing it is in all common-wealthes appeareth to every ſimpleſt ſence, and though ſome great ones have perhaps uſed ſuch matches with their vaſſals, and have of them nevertheleſſe raiſed worthy iſſue, as Telamon did with Tecmeſſa, Alexander the Great with Roxana, and Julius Cæſar with Cleopatra, yet the example is ſo perillous, as it is not to be adventured: for in ſtead of thoſe few good, I could count unto them infinite many evill. And indeed how can ſuch matching ſucceede well, ſeeing that commonly the childe taketh moſt of his nature of the mother, beſides ſpeach, manners, and inclynation, which are (for the moſt part) agreeable to the conditions of their mothers? for by them they are firſt framed and faſhioned, ſo as what they receive once from them, they will hardly ever after forgoe. Therefore are theſe evill cuſtomes of foſtering and marrying with the Iriſh moſt carefully to be reſtrayned; for of them two, the third evill, that is the cuſtome of language (which I ſpake of) cheifly proceedeth.

Eudox. But are there not lawes already provided, for avoyding of this evill?

Iren. Yes, I thinke there be, but as good never a whit as never the better. For what doe ſtatutes availe without penalties, or lawes without charge of execution? for ſo there is another like law enacted againſt wearing of the Iriſh apparell, but neverthemore is it obſerved by any, or executed by them that have the charge: for they in their private diſcretions thinke it not fit to bee forced upon the poore wretches of that country, which are not worth the price of Engliſh apparell, nor expedient to be practiſed againſt the abler ſort, by reaſon that the country

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(ſay they) doth yeeld no better: and were there better to be had, yet theſe were fitter to be uſed, as namely, the mantle in travalling, becauſe there be no Innes where meete bedding may be had, ſo that his mantle ſerves him then for a bed: the leather quilted jacke in journeying and in camping, for that is fitteſt to be under his ſhirt of mayle, and for any occaſion of ſuddaine ſervice, as there happen may, to cover his trouſe on horſebacke: the great linnen roll, which the women weare, to keepe their heads warme after cutting their haire, which they uſe in ſickneſſe; beſides their thicke folded linnen ſhirts, their long-ſleived ſmocks, their halfe-ſleived coates, their ſilken fillets, and all the reſt they will deviſe ſome colour for, either of neceſſity, or of antiquity, or of comelyneſſe.

Eudox. But what colour ſoever they alledge, mee thinkes it is not expedient, that the execution of a law once ordayned ſhould be left to the diſcretion of the judge, or officer, but that, without partialitie or regard, it ſhould be fulfilled as well on Engliſh, as Iriſh.

Iren. But they thinke this preciſenes in reformation of apparell not to be ſo materiall, or greatly pertinent.

Eudox. Yes ſurely but it is; for mens apparell is commonly made according to their conditions, and their conditions are oftentimes governed by their garments: for the perſon that is gowned is by his gowne put in minde of gravitie, and alſo reſtrained from lightnes by the very unaptneſſe of his weed. Therefore it is written by Ariſtotle, that when Cyrus had overcome the Lydians that were a warlike nation, and deviſed to bring them to a more peaceable life, hee changed their apparell and muſick, and in ſtead of their ſhort warlike coat, cloathed them in long garments like women, and in ſtead of their warlike muſick, appointed to them certaine laſcivious layes, and looſe jiggs, by which in ſhort ſpace their mindes were ſo mollified and abated, that they forgot their former

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fierceneſſe, and became moſt tender and effeminate: whereby it appeareth, that there is not a little in the garment to the faſhioning of the minde and conditions. But be theſe, which you have deſcribed, the faſhions of the Iriſh weedes?

Iren. No; all theſe which I have rehearſed to you, be not Iriſh garments, but Engliſh; for the quilted leather jack is old Engliſh; for it was the proper weed of the horſeman, as you may read in Chaucer, when he deſcribeth Sir Thopas apparell and armour, as hee went to fight againſt the gyant, in his robe of ſhecklaton, which is that kind of guilded leather with which they uſe to imbroyder their Iriſh jackets. And there likewiſe by all that deſcription you may ſee the very faſhion and manner of the Iriſh horſeman moſt truely ſet forth, in his long hoſe, his ryding ſhooes of coſtly cordwaine, his hacqueton, and his haberjeon, with all the reſt thereunto belonging.

Eudox. I ſurely thought that the manner had beene Iriſh, for it is farre differing from that we have now; as alſo all the furniture of his horſe, his ſtrong braſſe bit, his ſlyding reynes, his ſhanke pillion without ſtirruppes, his manner of mounting, his faſhion of ryding, his charging of his ſpeare aloft above head, the forme of his ſpeare.

Iren. No ſure; they be native Engliſh, and brought in by the Engliſhmen firſt into Ireland: neither is the ſame accounted an uncomely manner of ryding; for I have heard ſome great warriours ſay, that, in all the ſervices which they had ſeene abroad in forraigne countreyes, they never ſaw a more comely man then the Iriſh man, nor that commeth on more bravely in his charge: neither is his manner of mounting unſeemely, though hee lacke ſtirruppes, but more ready then with ſtirruppes; for in his getting up his horſe is ſtill going, whereby hee gayneth way. And therefore the ſtirrup was called ſo in ſcorne, as it were a ſtay to get up, being derived from the old Engliſh word ſty, which is, to get up, or mounte.

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Eudox. It ſeemeth then that you finde no fault with this manner of ryding; why then would you have the quilted jacke laid away?

Iren. I doe not wiſh it to be laide away, but the abuſe thereof to be put away; for being uſed to the end that it was framed, that is, to be worne in warre under a ſhirt of mayle, it is allowable, as alſo the ſhirt of mayle, and all his other furniture: but to be worne daylie at home, and in townes and civile places, is a rude habite and moſt uncomely, ſeeming like a players painted coate.

Eudox. But it is worne (they ſay) likewiſe of Iriſh footmen; how doe you allow of that? for I ſhould thinke it very unſeemely.

Iren. No, not as it is uſed in warre, for it is worne then likewiſe of footmen under their ſhirts of mayle, the which footmen they call Galloglaſſes,° the which name doth diſcover them alſo to be auncient Engliſh, for *Gallogla* ſignifies an Engliſh ſervitour or yeoman. And he being ſo armed, in a long ſhirt of mayle downe to the calfe of his leg, with a long broad axe in his hand, was then *pedes gravis armaturæ*, and was inſteed of the armed foteman that now weareth a corſlet, before the corſlet was uſed, or almoſt invented.

Eudox. Then him belike you likewiſe allow in your ſtraite reformation of old cuſtomes.

Iren. Both him and the kerne alſo (whom onely I take to bee the proper Iriſh ſouldier) can I allow, ſo that they uſe that habite and cuſtome of theirs in the warres onely, when they are led forth to the ſervice of their Prince, and not uſually at home, and in civile places, and beſides doe laye aſide the evill and wilde uſes which the galloglaſſe and kerne do uſe in their common trade of life.

° *which footmen they call Galloglaſſes.*] See the note on *kern* [and *gallowglaſs*], p. 361. Todd.

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Eudox. What be thoſe?

Iren. Marrie, thoſe bee the moſt barbarous and loathly conditions of any people (I thinke) under heaven; for, from the time that they enter into that courſe, they doe uſe all the beaſtly behaviour that may bee: they oppreſſe all men, they ſpoile aſwell the ſubject as the enemy; they ſteale, they are cruell and bloodie, full of revenge and delighting in deadly execution, licentious ſwearers, and blaſphemers, common raviſhers of woemen, and murtherers of children.

Eudox. Theſe bee moſt villainous conditions; I marvaile then that they be ever uſed or imployed, or almoſt ſuffered to live: what good can there then be in them?

Iren. Yet ſure they are very valiaunt, and hardie, for the moſt part great indurers of colde, labour, hunger, and all hardneſſe, very active and ſtrong of hand, very ſwift of foot, very vigilant and circumſpect in their enterpriſes, very preſent in perils, very great ſcorners of death.

Eudox. Truely, by this that you ſay, it ſeemes that the Iriſhman is a very brave ſouldier.

Iren. Yea ſurely, in that rude kinde of ſervice hee beareth himſelfe very couragiouſly. But when hee commeth to experience of ſervice abroad, or is put to a peece, or a pike, hee maketh as worthie a ſouldiour as any nation hee meeteth with. But let us (I pray you) turne againe to our diſcourſe of evill cuſtomes among the Iriſh.

Eudox. Me thinkes, all this which you ſpeake of, concerneth the cuſtomes of the Iriſh very materially; for their uſes in warre are of no ſmall importance to bee conſidered, aſwell to reforme thoſe which are evill, as to confirme and continue thoſe which are good. But follow you your owne courſe, and ſhew what other their cuſtomes you have to diſlike of.

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Iren. There is amongſt the Iriſh a certaine kind of people called Bardes, which are to them inſteed of poets,[p] whoſe profeſſion is to ſet foorth the praiſes or diſpraiſes of men in their poems or rymes, the which are had in ſo high regard and eſtimation amongſt them, that none dare diſpleaſe them for feare to runne into reproach thorough their offence, and to be made infamous in the mouthes of all men. For their verſes are taken up with a generall applauſe, and uſually ſung at all feaſts and meetings, by certaine other perſons whoſe proper function that is, who alſo receive for the ſame great rewards and reputation amongſt them.

Eudox. Doe you blame this in them, which I would otherwiſe have thought to have beene worthy of good accompt, and rather to have beene maintained and augmented amongſt them, then to have beene diſliked? for I have reade that in all ages Poets have beene had in ſpeciall reputation, and that (me thinkes) not without great cauſe; for beſides their ſweete inventions, and moſt wittie layes, they have alwayes uſed to ſet foorth the praiſes of the good and vertuous, and to beate downe and diſgrace the bad and vitious. So that many brave yong mindes have oftentimes, thorough hearing the praiſes and famous eulogies of worthie men ſung and reported unto them, beene ſtirred up to affect the like commendations, and ſo to ſtrive to the like deſerts. So they ſay that the Lacedemonians were more excited to deſire of honour with the excellent verſes of the Poet Tirtæus, then with

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[p] *Bardes, which are to them inſteed of poets.*] The reader, who would wiſh for all poſſible information on this point, cannot attain his object ſooner than by conſulting "Hiſtorical Memoirs of the Iriſh Bards, interſperſed with anecdotes of, and occaſional obſervations on, the Muſic of Ireland: By Joſeph Cooper Walker, Eſq. M.R.I.A." Dublin, 1786. I recommend alſo, as a proper accompaniment to this ingenious work, the "Reliques of Ancient Iriſh Poetry," by Miſs Brooke. TODD.

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all the exhortations of their Captaines, or authority of their Rulers and Magiſtrates.

Iren. It is moſt true that ſuch Poets as in their writings doe labour to better the manners of men, and thorough the ſweete baite of their numbers, to ſteale into the young ſpirits a deſire of honour and vertue, are worthy to bee had in great reſpect. But theſe Iriſh Bardes are for the moſt part of another minde, and ſo farre from inſtructing yong men in morall diſcipline, that they themſelves doe more deſerve to bee ſharpely diſciplined; for they ſeldome uſe to chooſe unto themſelves the doings of good men for the arguments of their poems, but whomſoever they finde to be moſt licentious of life, moſt bolde and lawleſſe in his doings, moſt dangerous and deſperate in all parts of diſobedience and rebellious diſpoſition, him they ſet up and glorifie in their rithmes, him they praiſe to the people, and to yong men make an example to follow.

Eudox. I marvaile what kinde of ſpeeches they can finde, or what face they can put on, to praiſe ſuch bad perſons as live ſo lawleſlie and licentiouſlie upon ſtealthes and ſpoyles, as moſt of them doe; or how can they thinke that any good mind will applaude or approve the ſame?

Iren. There is none ſo bad, Eudoxus, but ſhall finde ſome to favour his doings; but ſuch licentious partes as theſe, tending for the moſt part to the hurt of the Engliſh, or maintenance of their owne lewde libertie, they themſelves, being moſt deſirous therof, doe moſt allow. Beſides this, evill things being decked and attired with the gay attire of goodly words, may eaſily deceive and carry away the affection of a yong mind, that is not well ſtayed, but deſirous by ſome bolde adventures to make proofe of himſelfe; for being (as they all be brought up idlely) without awe of parents, without precepts of maſ-

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ters, and without feare of offence, not being directed, nor imployed in any courſe of life, which may carry them to vertue, will eaſily be drawne to follow ſuch as any ſhall ſet before them: for a yong minde cannot reſt; if he be not ſtill buſied in ſome goodneſſe, he will finde himſelfe ſuch buſineſſe as ſhall ſoone buſie all about him. In which if he ſhall finde any to praiſe him, and to give him encouragement, as thoſe Bardes and rythmers doe for little reward, or a ſhare of a ſtolne cow, then waxeth he moſt inſolent and halfe madde with the love of himſelfe, and his owne lewd deeds. And as for words to ſet forth ſuch lewdnes, it is not hard for them to give a goodly and painted ſhew thereunto, borrowed even from the praiſes which are proper to vertue it ſelfe. As of a moſt notorious thiefe and wicked out-law, which had lived all his life-time of ſpoyles and robberies, one of their Bardes in his praiſe will ſay, That he was none of the idle milke-ſops that was brought up by the fire ſide, but that moſt of his dayes he ſpent in armes and valiant enterpriſes; that he did never eat his meat before he had won it with his ſword; that he lay not all night ſlugging in a cabbin under his mantle, but uſed commonly to keepe others waking to defend their lives, and did light his candle at the flames of their houſes to leade him in the darkneſſe; that the day was his night, and the night his day; that he loved not to be long wooing of wenches to yeeld to him, but where he came he tooke by force the ſpoyle of other mens love, and left but lamentation to their lovers; that his muſick was not the harpe, nor layes of love, but the cryes of people, and claſhing of armor; and finally, that he died not bewayled of many, but made many waile when he died that dearly bought his death. Doe you not thinke (Eudoxus) that many of theſe praiſes might be applyed to men of beſt deſerts? yet are they all yeelded to a moſt notable traytor, and amongſt ſome

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of the Iriſh not ſmally accounted of. For the ſong, when it was firſt made and ſung to a perſon of high degree there, was bought (as their manner is) for fourty crownes.

Eudox. And well worthy ſure! But tell me (I pray you) have they any art in their compoſitions? or bee they any thing wittie or well ſavoured, as poemes ſhould be?

Iren. Yea truely; I have cauſed divers of them to be tranſlated unto me that I might underſtand them; and ſurely they ſavoured of ſweet wit and good invention, but ſkilled not of the goodly ornaments of poetry: yet were they ſprinkled with ſome pretty flowres of their naturall device, which gave good grace and comlineſſe unto them, the which it is great pitty to ſee abuſed, to the gracing of wickednes and vice, which with good uſage would ſerve to adorne and beautifie vertue. This evill cuſtome therfore needeth reformation. And now next after the Iriſh Kerne, me thinks the Iriſh Horſboyes would come well in order, the uſe of which, though neceſſity (as times now be) do enforce, yet in the thorough reformation of that realme they ſhould be cut off. For the cauſe why they are now to be permitted is want of convenient innes for lodging of travailers on horſback, and of hoſtlers to tend their horſes by the way. But when things ſhalbe reduced to a better paſſe, this needeth ſpecially to be reformed; for out of the fry of theſe rakehell horſe-boyes,[q] growing up in knavery and villainy, are their kerne continually ſupplyed and maintained. For having been once brought up an idle horſeboy, he will never after fall to labour, but is only made

[q] *theſe rakebell horſe-boyes.*] Theſe *baſe* or *outcaſt* horſe-boys. Fr. *racaille.* See alſo F. Q. v. xi. 44 [vol. iv. p. 16]. Gabriel Harvey calls Greene "a *rakebell,* a makeſhift, &c." "Foure Letters," &c. 1592. Sign. A. 2. b. Todd.

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fit for the halter. And theſe alſo (the which is one foule over-ſight) are for the moſt part bred up amongſt the Engliſhmen, of whom learning to ſhoote in a piece, and being made acquainted with all the trades of the Engliſh, they are afterwards, when they become kerne, made more fit to cut their throats. Next to this there is another much like, but much more lewde and diſhoneſt; and that is, of their Carrows, which is a kinde of people that wander up and downe to Gentle-mens houſes, living onely upon cardes and dice, the which, though they have little or nothing of their owne, yet they will play for much money, which if they winne, they waſte moſt lightly, and if they loſe, they pay as ſlenderly, but make recompence with one ſtealth or another, whoſe onely hurt is not, that they themſelves are idle loſſells, but that thorough gaming they draw others to like lewdneſſe and idleneſſe. And to theſe may be added another ſort of like looſe fellowes, which doe paſſe up and downe amongſt gentlemen by the name of Jeſters, but are (indeed) notable rogues, and partakers not onely of many ſtealthes by ſetting forth other mens goods to be ſtolne, but alſo privy to many traitrous practices, and common carryers of newes, with deſire whereof you would wonder how much the Iriſh are fed: for they uſe commonly to ſend up and downe to knowe newes, and if any meet with another his ſecond word is, What news? Inſomuch that hereof is tolde a prettie jeſt of a French-man, who having beene ſometimes in Ireland, where he marked their great inquirie for newes, and meeting afterwards in France an Iriſhman, whom hee knew in Ireland, firſt ſaluted him, and afterwards ſaid thus merrily: O Sir, I pray you tell me of curteſie, have you heard any thing of the news that you ſo much inquired for in your countrey?

Eudox. This argueth ſure in them a great deſire of

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innovation, and therfore theſe occaſions which nouriſh the ſame muſt be taken away, as namely, thoſe Jeſters, Carrowes, Mona-ſhules,[r] and all ſuch ſtraglers, for whom (me thinkes) the ſhort riddance of a Marſhall were meeter then an ordinance or prohibition to reſtrain them. Therefore (I pray you) leave all this rabblement of runnagates, and paſſe to other cuſtomes.

Iren. There is a great uſe amongſt the Iriſh to make great aſſemblies together upon a rath or hill, there to parlie (as they ſay) about matters and wrongs betweene townſhip and townſhip, or one privat perſon and another. But well I wot, and true it hath beene oftentimes proved, that in their meetings many miſchiefes have beene both practiſed and wrought; for to them doe commonly reſort all the ſcumme of the people, where they may meete and conferre of what they liſt, which elſe they could not doe without ſuſpition or knowledge of others. Beſides, at theſe meetings I have knowne divers times, that many Engliſhmen, and good Iriſh ſubjects, have bin villanouſly murdered by moving one quarrell or another againſt them. For the Iriſh never come to thoſe raths but armed, whether on horſe or on foot, which the Engliſh nothing ſuſpecting, are then commonly taken at advantage like ſheep in the pin-folde.

Eudox. It may be (Iræneus) that abuſe may be in thoſe meetings. But theſe round hills and ſquare bawnes,[s] which you ſee ſo ſtrongly trenched and throwne up, were (they ſay) at firſt ordained for the ſame purpoſe, that

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[r] *Mona-ſhules.*] This is the manuſcript reading, and is correct. See *Mona-ſhul* in p. 360. The printed copies read *Mona-ſhutes*. *Shuler* is a common word for a beggar in Ireland. TODD.

[s] *theſe round hills and ſquare bawnes.*] *Bawn* is evidently uſed by Spenſer for an *eminence*. Of its etymology our lexicographers give no account. TODD. Yet ſee Richardſon's Dict. v. *bawn*, where he ſhews it to mean a habitation. *Bauen* is "to build" in German. C.

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people might aſſemble themſelves therein; and therefore aunciently they were called Folkmotes,[t] that is, a place of people to meete or talke of any thing that concerned any difference betweene parties and towneſhips, which ſeemeth yet to me very requiſite.

Iren. You ſay very true, Eudoxus: the firſt making of theſe high hils were at firſt indeed to very good purpoſe for people to meet; but howſoever the times when they were firſt made might well ſerve to good occaſions, as perhaps they did then in England, yet things being ſince altered, and now Ireland much differing from the ſtate of England, the good uſe that then was of them is now turned to abuſe; for thoſe hills wherof you ſpeak were (as you may gather by reading) appointed for 2 ſpecial uſes, and built by 2 ſeveral nations. The one is that which you call Folk-motes, which were built by the Saxons, as the word bewraieth; for it ſignifieth in Saxon a meeting of folk, and theſe are for the moſt part in forme foure ſquare, well intrenched: the others that were round were caſt up by the Danes, as the name of them doth betoken, for they are called Danes-raths, that is, hills of the Danes, the which were by them deviſed, not for treaties and parlies, but appointed as fortes for them to gather unto in troubleſome time, when any trouble aroſe; for the Danes, being but a few in compariſon of the Saxons[u] (in England) uſed this for their ſafety: they made thoſe ſmall round hills, ſo ſtrongly fenced, in every quarter of the hundred, to the end that if in the night, or any other time, any troublous cry or uproare ſhould happen, they might repaire with all ſpeed unto their

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[t] *Folkmotes.*] Vid. Hen. Spelmanni Gloſſarium. SIR JAMES WARE. Junius gives the etymology of "folk" as A. S. *fylgan*, to follow. C.

[u] *Saxons.*] The like reaſon may be given for the making of ſuch rathes in Ireland by the Danes or Norwegians. Vid. Gir. Cambr. topog. Hib. diſtinct. 3. cap. 37. SIR JAMES WARE.

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owne fort, which was appointed for their quarter, and there remaine ſafe, till they could aſſemble themſelves in greater ſtrength: for they were made ſo ſtrong, with one ſmall entrance, that whoſoever came thither firſt, were he one or two, or like few, he or they might there reſt ſafe, and defend themſelves againſt many, till more ſuccour came unto them: and when they were gathered to a ſufficient number they marched to the next fort, and ſo forward till they met with the perill, or knew the occaſions thereof. But beſides theſe two ſorts of hills, there were anciently divers others; for ſome were raiſed, where there had been a great battle fought, as a memory or trophie thereof; others, as monuments of burialls of the carcaſſes of all thoſe that were ſlaine in any field, upon whom they did throwe ſuch round mounts, as memorialls of them, and ſometimes did caſt up great heapes of ſtones, (as you may read the like in many places of the Scripture,) and other whiles they did throw up many round heapes of earth in a circle, like a garland, or pitch many long ſtones on end in compaſſe, every of which (they ſay) betokened ſome perſon of note there ſlaine and buried; for this was their auncient cuſtome, before Chriſtianity came in amongſt them that church-yards were incloſed.

Eudox. You have very well declared the originall of their mounts and great ſtones incompaſſed, which ſome vainely terme the ould Gyants Trevetts, and thinke that thoſe huge ſtones would not elſe be brought into order or reared up without the ſtrength of gyants. And others vainely thinke that they were never placed there by mans hand or art, but onely remained there ſo ſince the beginning, and were afterwards diſcovered by the deluge, and laide open as then by the waſhing of the waters, or other like caſualty. But let them dreame their owne imaginations to pleaſe themſelves; you have ſatisfied me much

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better, both for that I ſee ſome confirmation thereof in the Holy Writt, and alſo remember that I have read in many Hiſtoryes and Chronicles the like mounts and ſtones oftentimes mentioned.

Iren. There be many great authorities (I aſſure you) to prove the ſame; but as for theſe meetings on hills, whereof we were ſpeaking, it is very inconvenient that any ſuch ſhould be permitted.

Eudox. But yet it is very needefull (me thinkes) for many other purpoſes, as for the countryes to gather together when there is any impoſition to be laide upon them, to the which they then may all agree at ſuch meetings to devide upon themſelves, according to their holdings and abilities. So as if at theſe aſſemblies there be any officers, as Conſtables, Bayliffes, or ſuch like amongſt them, there can be no perill or doubt of ſuch bad practiſes.

Iren. Nevertheleſſe, dangerous are ſuch aſſemblies, whether for ceſſe or ought elſe, the Conſtables and Officers being alſo of the Iriſh; and if any of the Engliſh happen to be there, even to them they may prove perillous. Therefore for avoyding of all ſuch evill occaſions, they were beſt to be aboliſhed.

Eudox. But what is that which you call ceſſe? it is a word ſure unuſed among us here, therefore (I pray you) expound the ſame.

Iren. Ceſſe is none other then that which your ſelfe called impoſition, but it is in a kinde unacquainted perhaps unto you. For there are ceſſes of ſundry ſorts; one is, the ceſſing of ſouldiours upon the countrey; for Ireland being a countrey of warre (as it is handled) and alwayes full of ſouldiours, they which have the government, whether they finde it the moſt eaſe to the Queenes purſe, or the moſt ready meanes at hand for victualing of the ſouldiour, or that neceſſity inforceth them thereunto, do

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ſcatter the army abroad in the countrey, and place them in villages to take their victuals of them, at ſuch vacant times as they lye not in campe, nor are otherwiſe imployed in ſervice. Another kinde of ceſſe, is the impoſing of proviſion for the Governors houſe-keeping, which though it be moſt neceſſary, and be alſo (for avoyding of all the evills formerly therein uſed) lately brought to a compoſition, yet it is not without great inconveniences, no leſſe then here in England, or rather much more. The like ceſſe is alſo charged upon the countrey ſometimes for victualling of the ſouldiours, when they lye in garriſon, at ſuch times as there is none remayning in the Queenes ſtore, or that the ſame cannot be conveniently conveyed to their place of garriſon. But theſe two are not eaſily to be redreſſed when neceſſity thereto compelleth; but as for the former, as it is not neceſſary, ſo it is moſt hurtfull and offenſive to the poore country, and nothing convenient for the ſouldiers themſelves, who, during their lying at ceſſe, uſe all kinde of outragious diſorder and villany, both towards the poore men which victuall and lodge them, as alſo to all the country round about them, whom they abuſe, oppreſſe, ſpoyle, and afflict by all the meanes they can invent: for they will not onely not content themſelves with ſuch victuals as their hoſtes, nor yet as the place perhaps affords, but they will have other meate provided for them, and *aqua vita* ſent for; yea and money beſides laide at their trenchers, which if they want, then about the houſe they walk with the wretched poore man and his ſilly wife, who are glad to purchaſe their peace with any thing. By which vile manner of abuſe, the countrey people, yea and the very Engliſh which dwell abroad and ſee, and ſometimes feele this outrage, growe into great deteſtation of the ſouldiours, and thereby into hatred of the very government, which draweth upon them ſuch evills: And there-

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fore this you may alſo joyne unto the former evill cuſtomes which we have to reprove in Ireland.

Eudox. Truly this is one not the leaſt, and though the perſons, by whom it is uſed be of better note then the former roguiſh ſort which you reckoned, yet the fault (me thinkes) is no leſſe worthy of a Marſhall.

Iren. That were a harder courſe, Eudoxus, to redreſſe every abuſe by a Marſhall: it would ſeeme to you very evill ſurgery to cut off every unſound or ſicke part of the body, which, being by other due meanes recovered, might afterwards doe very good ſervice to the body againe, and haply helpe to ſave the whole: Therefore I thinke better that ſome good ſalve for the redreſſe of the evill bee ſought forth, then the leaſt part ſuffered to periſh; but hereof wee have to ſpeake in another place. Now we will proceede to other like defects, amongſt which there is one generall inconvenience which raigneth almoſt throughout all Ireland: that is, the Lords of land and Free-holders, doe not there uſe to ſet out their land in farme, or for tearme of yeares, to their tennants, but onely from yeare to yeare, and ſome during pleaſure; neither indeede will the Iriſh tennant or huſbandman otherwiſe take his land then ſo long as he liſt himſelfe. The reaſon hereof in the tenant is, for that the land-lords there uſe moſt ſhamefully to racke their tennants, laying upon them coigny and livery at pleaſure, and exacting of them (beſides his covenants) what he pleaſeth. So that the poore huſbandman either dare not binde himſelfe to him for longer tearme, or thinketh by his continuall liberty of change to keepe his land-lord the rather in awe from wronging of him. And the reaſon why the land-lord will no longer covenant with him is, for that he dayly looketh after change and alteration, and hovereth in expectation of new worlds.

Eudox. But what evill commeth hereby to the common-wealth? or what reaſon is it that any landlord

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ſhould not ſet, nor any tennant take his land as himſelfe liſt?

Iren. Marry, the evils which commeth hereby are great, for by this meanes both the land-lord thinketh that he hath his tennant more at commaund, to follow him into what action ſoever hee ſhall enter, and alſo the tennant, being left at his liberty, is fit for every occaſion of change that ſhall be offered by time: and ſo much alſo the more ready and willing is he to runne into the ſame, for that hee hath no ſuch ſtate in any his houlding, no ſuch building upon any farme, no ſuch coſte imployed in fenſing or huſbanding the ſame, as might with-hold him from any ſuch wilfull courſe, as his lords cauſe, or his owne lewde diſpoſition may carry him unto. All which hee hath forborne, and ſpared ſo much expence, for that he had no firme eſtate in his tenement, but was onely a tennant at will or little more, and ſo at will may leave it. And this inconvenience may be reaſon enough to ground any ordinance for the good of the common-wealth, againſt the private behoofe or will of any landlord that ſhall refuſe to graunt any ſuch terme or eſtate unto his tennant as may tende to the good of the whole realme.

Eudox. Indeede (me thinkes) it is a great willfullneſs in any ſuch land-lord to refuſe to make any longer farmes unto their tennants, as may, beſides the generall good of the realme, be alſo greatly for their owne profit and availe: For what reaſonable man will not thinke that the tenement ſhalbe made much better for the lords behoofe, if the tennant may by ſuch good meanes bee drawne to build himſelfe ſome handſome habitation thereon, to ditch and incloſe his ground, to manure and huſband it as good farmours uſe? For when his tennants terme ſhal be expired, it will yeeld him, in the renewing his leaſe, both a good fine, and alſo a better rent. And alſo it ſhall be for the good of the tennant likewiſe, who by ſuch buildings

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and incloſures ſhall receive many benefits: firſt, by the handſomeneſſe of his houſe, he ſhall take more comfort of his life, more ſafe dwelling, and a delight to keepe his ſaid houſe neate and cleanely, which now being, as they commonly are, rather ſwyne-ſtyes then houſes, is the cheifeſt cauſe of his ſo beaſtly manner of life, and ſavage condition, lying and living together with his beaſt in one houſe, in one roome, in one bed, that is, cleane ſtrawe, or rather a foul dunghill. And to all theſe other commodities hee ſhall in ſhort time find a greater added, that is his owne wealth and riches increaſed, and wonderfully inlarged, by keeping his cattle in incloſures, where they ſhall alwayes have freſh paſture, that now is all trampled and over-runne; warme covert, that now lyeth open to all weather; ſafe being, that now are continually filched and ſtolne.

Iren. You have, Eudoxus, well accompted the commodities of this one good ordinance, amongſt which this that you named laſt is not the leaſt; for all the other being moſt beneficiall to the land-lord and tennant, this cheifly redoundeth to the good of the common-wealth, to have the land thus incloſed, and well fenced. For it is both a principall barre and impeachment unto theeves from ſtealing of cattle in the night, and alſo a gaule againſt all rebels, and outlawes, that ſhall riſe up in any numbers againſt the governement; for the theife thereby ſhall have much adoe, firſt to bring forth, and afterwards to drive away his ſtolne prey but thorough the common high wayes, where he ſhall ſoone bee deſcryed and met withall: And the rebell or open enemy, if any ſuch ſhall happen, either at home, or from abroad, ſhall eaſily be found when he commeth forth, and alſo be well incountered withall by a few in ſo ſtraight paſſages and ſtrong incloſures. This therefore, when we come to the reforming of all thoſe evill cuſtomes before mentioned, is needefull to be re-

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membred. But now by this time me thinkes that I have well run thorough the evill uſes which I have obſerved in Ireland. Neverthelesſe I well wote that there be many more, and infinitely many more in the private abuſes of men. But theſe that are moſt generall, and tending to the hurt of the common-weale (as they have come to my remembrance) I have as breifly as I could rehearſed unto you. And therefore now I thinke beſt that we paſſe unto our third part, in which we noted inconveniences that are in religion.

Eudox. Surely you have very well handled theſe two former, and if yee ſhall as well goe thorough the third likewiſe, you ſhall merit a very good meed.

Iren. Little have I to ſay of religion, both becauſe the parts thereof be not many, (it ſelfe being but one) and my ſelfe have not much beene converſant in that calling, but as lightly paſſing by I have ſeene or heard: Therefore the fault which I finde in religion is but one, but the ſame is univerſall thoroughout all that country; that is, that they be all Papiſts by their profeſſion, but in the ſame ſo blindly and brutiſhly informed, (for the moſt part) that not one amongſt a hundred knoweth any ground of religion, or any article of his faith, but can perhaps ſay his Pater noſter, or his Ave Maria, without any knowledge or underſtanding what one word thereof meaneth.

Eudox. Is it not then a little blot to them that now hold the place of government, that they which now are in the light themſelves ſuffer a people under their charge to wallow in ſuch deadly darkeneſſe?

Iren. That which you blame, Eudox., is not (I ſuppoſe) any fault of will in thoſe godly fathers which have charge thereof, but the inconvenience of the time and troublous occaſions, wherewith that wretched realme hath continually been turmoyled; for inſtruction in religion needeth quiet times, and ere we ſeeke to ſettle a ſound

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diſcipline in the clergy, we muſt purchaſe peace unto the laity, for it is ill time to preach among ſwords, and moſt hard, or rather impoſſible, it is to ſettle a good opinion in the mindes of men for matters of religion doubtfull, which have doubtleſſe an evill opinion of us; for ere a new be brought in, the old muſt be removed.

Eudox. Then belike it is meete that ſome fitter time be attended, that God ſend peace and quietneſſe there in civill matters before it be attempted in eccleſiaſticall. I would rather have thought that (as it is ſaid) correction muſt firſt begin at the houſe of God, and that the care of the ſoule ſhould have beene preferred before the care of the body.

Iren. Moſt true, Eudoxus, the care of the ſoule and ſoule matters is to be preferred before the care of the body in conſideration of the worthyneſſe thereof, but not till the time of reformation; for if you ſhould know a wicked perſon dangerouſly ſicke, having now both ſoule and body greatly diſeaſed, yet both recoverable, would you not thinke it evill advertiſement to bring the preacher before the phiſician? for if his body were neglected, it is like that his languiſhing ſoule being diſquieted by his diſeaſefull body, would utterly refuſe and loath all ſpirituall comfort; but if his body were firſt recured, and brought to good frame, ſhould there not then be found beſt time to recover the ſoule alſo? So it is in the ſtate of a realme: Therefore (as I ſaid) it is expedient, firſt to ſettle ſuch a courſe of government there, as thereby both civill diſorders and eccleſiaſticall abuſes may be reformed and amended, whereto needeth not any ſuch great diſtance of times, as (you ſuppoſe) I require, but one joint reſolution for both, that each might ſecond and confirm the other.

Eudox. That we ſhall ſee when we come thereunto: in the meane time I conceive thus much, as you have delivered, touching the generall fault which you ſuppoſe

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in religion, to wit, that it is popiſh; but doe you finde no particular abuſes therein, nor in the miniſters thereof?

Iren. Yes verily; for what ever diſorders you ſee in the Church of England yee may finde there, and many more: Namely, groſſe ſimony, greedy covetouſneſſe, fleſhly incontinency, careleſſe ſloath, and generally all diſordered life in the common clergyman. And beſides all theſe, they have their particular enormityes; for all Iriſh prieſts, which now enjoy the church livings, they are in a manner meere laymen, ſaving that they have taken holy orders, but otherwiſe they doe go and live like lay men, follow all kinde of huſbandry, and other worldly affaires, as other Iriſh men doe. They neither read ſcriptures, nor preach to the people, nor adminiſter the communion; but baptiſme they doe, for they chriſten yet after the popiſh faſhion, onely they take the tithes and offerings, and gather what fruite elſe they may of their livings, the which they convert as badly, and ſome of them (they ſay) pay as due tributes and ſhares of their livings to their Biſhops (I ſpeake of thoſe which are Iriſh) as they receive them duely.

Eudox. But is that ſuffered amongſt them? It is wonder but that the governours doe redreſſe ſuch ſhamefull abuſes.

Iren. How can they, ſince they know them not? for the Iriſh biſhops have their clergy in ſuch awe and ſubjection under them, that they dare not complaine of them, ſo as they may doe to them what they pleaſe, for they, knowing their owne unworthyneſſe and incapacity, and that they are therefore ſtill removeable at their biſhops will, yeeld what pleaſeth him, and he taketh what he liſteth: yea, and ſome of them whoſe dioceſes are in remote parts, ſomewhat out of the worlds eye, doe not at all beſtow the benefices, which are in their owne donation, upon any, but keep them in their owne hands, and ſet

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their owne ſervants and horſe-boyes to take up the tithes and fruites of them, with the which ſome of them purchaſe great lands, and build faire caſtles upon the ſame. Of which abuſe if any queſtion be moved they have a very ſeemely colour and excuſe, that they have no worthy miniſters to beſtow them upon, but keepe them ſo beſtowed for any ſuch ſufficient perſon as any ſhall bring unto them.

Eudox. But is there no law, nor ordinance to meet with this miſchiefe? nor hath it never before beene looked into?

Iren. Yes, it ſeemes it hath; for there is a ſtatute there enacted in Ireland, which ſeemes to have beene grounded upon a good meaning—That whatſoever Engliſhman, of good converſation and ſufficiencie, ſhall bee brought unto any of the biſhoppes, and nominated unto any living within their dioceſſe that is preſently voyde, that he ſhall (without contradiction) be admitted thereunto before any Iriſh.

Eudox. This is ſurely a very good law, and well provided for this evill, whereof you ſpeake; but why is not the ſame obſerved?

Iren. I thinke it is well obſerved, and that none of the biſhops tranſgreſſe the ſame, but yet it worketh no reformation thereof for many defects. Firſt there are no ſuch ſufficient Engliſh miniſters ſent over as might be preſented to any biſhop for any living, but the moſt part of ſuch Engliſh as come over thither of themſelves are either unlearned, or men of ſome bad note, for which they have forſaken England. So as the biſhop, to whom they ſhalbe preſented, may juſtly reject them as incapable and inſufficient. Secondly, the biſhop himſelfe is perhappes an Iriſh man, who being made judge by that law of the ſufficiencie of the miniſters, may at his owne will, diſlike of the Engliſhman, as unworthy in his

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opinion, and admit of any Iriſh whom hee ſhall thinke more for his turne. And if hee ſhall at the inſtance of any Engliſhman of countenance there, whom hee will not diſpleaſe, accept of any ſuch Engliſh miniſter as ſhall bee tendred unto him, yet hee will under hand carry ſuch a hard hand over him, or by his officers wring him ſo ſore, that hee will ſoone make him weary of his poore living. Laſtly, the benefices themſelves are ſo meane, and of ſo ſmall profite in thoſe Iriſh countreyes, thorough the ill huſbandrie of the Iriſh people which doe inhabite them, that they will not yeelde any competent maintainance for any honeſt miniſter to live upon, ſcarcely to buy him a gowne. And were all this redreſſed (as haply it might bee) yet what good ſhould any Engliſh miniſter doe amongſt them, by teaching or preaching to them which either cannot underſtand him, or will not heare him? Or what comfort of life ſhall he have, where his pariſhioners are ſo inſatiable, ſo intractable, ſo ill-affected to him, as they uſuall bee to all the Engliſh? or finally, how dare almoſt any honeſt miniſter, that are peaceable civill men, commit his ſafetie to the handes of ſuch neighbours, as the boldeſt captaines dare ſcarcely dwell by?

Eudox. Little good then (I ſee) was by that ſtatute wrought, how ever well intended; but the reformation thereof muſt grow higher, and be brought from a ſtronger ordinance then the commaundement or penaltie of a law, which none dare informe or complain of when it is broken: but have you any more of thoſe abuſes in the clergy?

Iren. I could perhappes reckon more, but I perceive my ſpeech to grow too long, and theſe may ſuffiſe to judge of the generall diſorders which raigne amongſt them; as for the particulars, they are too many to be reckoned. For the clergy there (excepting the grave

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fathers which are in high place about the ſtate, and ſome few others which are lately planted in their new Colledge,[x]) are generally bad, licentious, and moſt diſordered.

Eudox. You have then (as I ſuppoſe) gone thorough thoſe three firſt parts which you propoſed unto your ſelfe; to wit, the inconveniences which you obſerved in the lawes, in the cuſtomes, and in the religion of that land. The which (me thinkes) you have ſo thoroughly touched, as that nothing more remaineth to be ſpoken thereof.

Iren. Not ſo thoroughly as you ſuppoſe, that *nothing* can remaine, but ſo generally as I purpoſed; that is, to lay open the generall evills of that realme, which doe hinder the good reformation thereof: for to count the particular faults of private men ſhould be a worke too infinite; yet ſome there be of that nature, that *though* they be in private men, yet their evill reacheth to a generall hurt, as the extortion of ſheriffs, and their ſubſheriffs, and bayliffes, the corruption of victuallers, ceſſors, and purveyors, the diſorders of ſeneſchalls,[y] captaines, and their ſouldiers, and many ſuch like: All which I will onely name here, that their reformation may bee mended in place where it moſt concerneth. But *there is* one very foule abuſe which, by the way, I may not omit, and that is in captaines, who, notwithſtanding that they are ſpecially imployed to make peace thorough ſtrong execution of warre, yet they doe ſo dandle their doings,

[x] *new Colledge.*] Trinity Colledge by Dublin, which was founded by Queene Eliz. 3 Martij 1591. The 13. of the ſame moneth, its firſt ſtone was laide by Thomas Smyth, then Mayor of Dublin, and the 9. of Jan. 1593. it firſt admitted ſtudents. Sir James Ware.

[y] *the diſorders of ſeneſchalls.*] *Governours.* See F. Q. iv. i. 12 [vol. iii. p. 90]; v. x. 30 [vol. iii. p. 473]; vi. i. 15, 25 [vol. iv. pp. 47, 50]. Todd. The etymology of "ſeneſchall" has given trouble, but it is from Gothic words meaning *ſeniors* and *ſervus*. C.

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and dallie in the ſervice to them committed, as if they would not have the enemy ſubdued, or utterly beaten downe, for feare leſt afterwardes they ſhould need imployment, and ſo be diſcharged of pay: for which cauſe ſome of them that are layde in garriſon doe ſo handle the matter, that they will doe no great hurt to the enemyes, yet for colour ſake ſome men they will kill, even halfe with the conſent of the enemy, being perſons either of baſe regard, or enemies to the enemy, whoſe heads eftſoones they ſend to the governor for a commendation of their great endevour, telling how weighty a ſervice they performed by cutting off ſuch and ſuch dangerous rebells.

Eudox. Truely this is a prettie mockerie, and not to be permitted by the governours.

Iren. But how can the governour know readily what perſons thoſe were, and what the purpoſe of their killing was? yea, and what will you ſay, if the captaines do juſtifie this their courſe by enſample of ſome of their governours, which (under Benedicite, I doe tell it to you,) doe practiſe the like ſleight in their governments?

Eudox. Is it poſſible? Take heed what you ſay, Irenæus.

Iren. To you onely, Eudoxus, I doe tell it, and that even with great hearts griefe, and inward trouble of mind to ſee her Majeſtie ſo much abuſed by ſome who are put in ſpeciall truſt of thoſe great affaires: of which ſome, being martiall men, will not doe alwayes what they may for quieting of things, but will rather winke at ſome faults, and will ſuffer them unpuniſhed, leſt that (having put all things in that aſſurance of peace that they might) they ſhould ſeeme afterwards not be needed, nor continued in their governments with ſo great a charge to her Majeſtie. And therefore they doe cunningly carry their courſe of government, and from one hand to another doe bandie the ſervice like a tennis-ball, which they will

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never ſtrike quite away, for feare left afterwards they ſhould want.

Eudox. Doe you ſpeake of under magiſtrates, Irenæus, or principall governours?

Iren. I doe ſpeake of no particulars, but the truth may be found out by tryall and reaſonable inſight into ſome of their doings. And if I ſhould ſay there is ſome blame thereof in the principall governours, I thinke I might alſo ſhew ſome reaſonable proofe of my ſpeech. As for example, ſome of them ſeeing the end of their government to draw nigh, and ſome miſchiefes and troublous practice growing up, which afterwardes may worke trouble to the next ſucceeding governour, will not attempt the redreſſe or cutting off thereof, either for feare they ſhould leave the realme unquiet at the end of their government, or that the next that commeth ſhould receive the ſame too quiet, and ſo happily winne more prayſe thereof then they before. And therefore they will not (as I ſaid) ſeeke at all to repreſſe that evill, but will either by graunting protection for a time, or holding ſome emparlance with the rebell, or by treatie of commiſſioners, or by other like devices, onely ſmother and keepe downe the flame of the miſchiefe, ſo as it may not breake out in their time of government: what comes afterwards they care not, or rather wiſh the worſt. This courſe hath beene noted in ſome governors.

Eudox. Surely (Irenæus) this, if it were true, ſhould bee worthy of an heavy judgment: but it is hardly to bee thought, that any governour ſhould ſo much either envie the good of that realme which is put into his hand, or defraude her Majeſtie, who truſteth him ſo much, or maligne his ſucceſſour which ſhall poſſeſſe his place, as to ſuffer an evill to grow up, which he might timely have kept under, or perhaps to nouriſh it with coloured countenance, or ſuch ſiniſter meanes.

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Iren. I doe not certainely avouch ſo much, (Eudoxus) but the ſequele of things doth in a manner proove, and plainly ſpeake ſo much, that the governours uſually are envious one of anothers greater glory, which if they would ſeeke to excell by better governing, it ſhould be a moſt laudable emulation. But they doe quite otherwiſe: for this (as you may marke) is the common order of them, that who commeth next in place will not follow that courſe of government, how ever good, which his predeceſſors held, either for diſdaine of himſelfe, or doubt to have his doings drowned in another mans praiſe, but will ſtraight take a way quite contrary to the former: as if the former thought (by keeping under the Iriſh) to reforme them, the next, by diſcountenancing the Engliſh will curry favour with the Iriſh, and ſo make his government ſeeme plauſible, as having all the Iriſh at his commaund: but he that comes after will perhappes follow neither the one nor the other, but will dandle the one and the other in ſuch ſort, as hee will ſucke ſweete out of them both, and leave bitterneſſe to the poore countrey, which if he that comes after ſhall ſeeke to redreſſe, he ſhall perhappes find ſuch croſſes as hee ſhall hardly bee able to beare, or doe any good that might worke the diſgrace of his predeceſſors. Examples you may ſee hereof in the governours of late times ſufficiently, and in others of former times more manifeſtly, when the government of that realme was committed ſometimes to the Geraldines, as when the Houſe of Yorke had the Crowne of England; ſometimes to the Butlers, as when the Houſe of Lancaſter got the ſame. And other whiles, when an Engliſh governour was appointed, hee perhappes found enemies of both.

Eudox. I am ſorry to heare ſo much as you report; and now I begin to conceive ſomewhat more of the cauſe of her continuall wretchednes then heeretofore I found,

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and wiſh that this inconvenience were well looked into: for ſure (me thinkes) it is more weightie then all the former, and more hardly to be redreſſed in the governor then in the governed; as a malady in a vitall part is more incurable then in an externall.

Iren. You ſay very true; but now that we have thus ended all the abuſes and inconveniences of that government, which was our firſt part, it followeth now that we paſſe unto the ſecond part, which was of the meanes to cure and redreſſe the ſame, which wee muſt labour to reduce to the firſt beginning thereof.

Eudox. Right ſo, Irenæus: for by that which I have noted in all this your diſcourſe you ſuppoſe that the whole ordinance and inſtitution of that realmes government was, both at firſt when it was placed, evill plotted, and alſo ſithence, thorough other over-ſights, came more out of ſquare to that diſorder which it is now come unto; like as two indirect lines, the further that they are drawne out, the further they goe aſunder.

Iren. I doe ſee, Eudoxus, and as you ſay, ſo thinke, that the longer that government thus continueth, in the worſe courſe will the realme be; for it is all in vaine that they now ſtrive and endeavour by faire meanes and peaceable plotts to redreſſe the ſame, without firſt removing all thoſe inconveniences, and new framing (as it were in the forge) all that is worne out of faſhion: For all other meanes will be but as loſt labour, by patching up one hole to make many; for the Iriſh doe ſtrongly hate and abhorre all reformation and ſubjection to the Engliſh, by reaſon that, having beene once ſubdued by them, they were thruſt out of all their poſſeſſions. So as now they feare, that if they were againe brought under, they ſhould be likewiſe expelled out of all, which is the cauſe that they hate the Engliſh government, according to the ſaying, "Quem

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metuunt oderunt:" Therefore the reformation muſt now bee the ſtrength of a greater power.

Eudox. But, me thinkes, that might be by making of good lawes, and eſtabliſhing of new ſtatutes, with ſharpe penalties and puniſhments for amending of all that is preſently amiſſe, and not (as you ſuppoſe) to beginne all as it were anew, and to alter the whole forme of the government; which how dangerous a thing it is to attempt you your ſelfe muſt needes confeſſe, and they which have the managing of the realmes whole policy, cannot, without great cauſe, feare and refraine: for all innovation is perillous, inſomuch as though it bee meant for the better, yet ſo many accidents and fearefull events may come betweene, as that it may hazard the loſſe of the whole.

Iren. Very true, Eudoxus; all change is to be ſhunned, where the affaires ſtand in ſuch ſort as that they may continue in quietnes, or be aſſured at all to abide as they are. But that in the realme of Ireland we ſee much otherwiſe, for every day wee perceive the troubles growing more upon us, and one evill growing upon another, inſomuch as there is no part now found or aſcertained, but all have their eares upright, wayting when the watch-word ſhall come that they ſhould all ariſe generally into rebellion, and caſt away the Engliſh ſubjection. To which there now little wanteth; for I thinke the word be already given, and there wanteth nothing but opportunitie, which truely is the death of one noble perſon,[z] who, being himſelfe moſt ſtedfaſt to his ſoveraigne Queene and his countrey, coaſting upon the South-Sea, ſtoppeth the ingate[a] of all that evill which is looked for, and holdeth

[z] *of one noble perſon.*] Meaning [probably] Sir Walter Raleigh. Todd.

[a] *ſtoppeth the ingate.*] *Entrance.* Again; "Thoſe two cities do offer an *ingate* to the Spaniard moſt fitly." See alſo F. Q. iv. x. 12 [vol. iii. p. 254]. Todd.

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in all thoſe which are at his becke, with the terrour of his greatneſſe, and the aſſurance of his moſt immoveable loyaltie: And therefore where you thinke, that good and ſound lawes might amend, and reforme things there amiſſe, you think ſurely amiſſe. For it is vaine to preſcribe lawes, where no man careth for keeping of them, nor feareth the daunger for breaking of them. But all the realme is firſt to be reformed, and lawes are afterwards to bee made for keeping and continuing it in that reformed eſtate.

Eudox. How then doe you think is the reformation thereof to be begunne, if not by lawes and ordinances?

Iren. Even by the ſword; for all theſe evills muſt firſt be cut away by a ſtrong hand, before any good can bee planted; like as the corrupt braunches and unwholeſome boughs are firſt to bee pruned, and the foule moſſe cleanſed and ſcraped away, before the tree can bring forth any good fruite.

Eudox. Did you blame me, even now, for wiſhing of Kerne, Horſe-boyes, and Carrowes to be cleane cut off, as too violent a meanes, and doe you your ſelfe now preſcribe the ſame medicine? Is not the ſword the moſt violent redreſſe that may bee uſed for any evill?

Iren. It is ſo; but where no other remedie may bee deviſed, nor hope of recovery had, there muſt needes this violent meanes bee uſed. As for the looſe kinde of people which you would have cut off, I blamed it, for that they might otherwiſe perhaps bee brought to good, as namely by this way which I ſet before you.

Eudox. Is not your way all one with the former, in effect, which you found fault with, ſave onely this odds, that I ſaid by the halter, and you ſay by the ſword? what difference is there?

Iren. There is ſurely great, when you ſhall underſtand it; for by the ſword, which I named, I did not meane the

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cutting off all that nation with the ſword, which farre bee it from mee, that I ſhould ever thinke ſo deſperately, or wiſh ſo uncharitably, but by the ſword I meane the royall power of the Prince, which ought to ſtretch it ſelfe forth in the chiefeſt ſtrength to the redreſſing and cutting off thoſe evills, which I before blamed, and not of the people which are evill. For evill people by good ordinances and government may be made good; but the evill that is of it ſelfe evill will never become good.

Eudox. I pray you then declare your minde at large, how you would wiſh that ſword, which you mean, to be uſed to the reformation of all thoſe evills.

Iren. The firſt thing muſt be to ſend over into that realme ſuch a ſtrong power of men, as ſhould perforce bring in all that rebellious route and looſe people, which either doe now ſtand out in open armes, or in wandring companies doe keepe the woods, ſpoyling the good ſubjects.

Eudox. You ſpeake now, Irenæus, of an infinite charge to her Majeſtie, to ſend over ſuch an army as ſhould tread downe all that ſtandeth before them on foot, and lay on the ground all the ſtiff-necked people of that land; for there is now but one outlaw of any great reckoning, to wit, the Earle of Tyrone, abroad in armes, againſt whom you ſee what huge charges ſhee hath beene at this laſt yeare, in ſending of men, providing of victualls, and making head againſt him: yet there is little or nothing at all done, but the Queenes treaſure ſpent, her people waſted, the poor countrey troubled, and the enemy nevertheleſſe brought into no more ſubjection then he was, or liſt outwardly to ſhew, which in effect is none, but rather a ſcorne of her power, and emboldening of a proud rebell, and an incouragement to all like lewdlie diſpoſed traytors that ſhall dare to lift up their heele againſt their Soveraigne Lady. Therefore it were

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hard counſell to drawe ſuch an exceeding great charge upon her, whoſe event ſhould be ſo uncertaine.

Iren. True indeede, if the event ſhould bee uncertaine; but the certainty of the effect hereof ſhall be ſo infallible as that no reaſon can gainesay it, neither ſhall the charge of all this army (the which I demaund) be much greater then ſo much as in theſe laſt two yeares warres hath vainely been expended. For I dare undertake, that it hath coſte the Queene above 200000 pounds already, and for the preſent charge, that ſhe is now at there, amounteth to very neere 12000 pounds a moneth, whereof caſt you the accompt; yet nothing is done. The which ſumme, had it beene employed as it ſhould bee, would have effected all this which now I goe about.

Eudox. How meane you to have it imployed, but to bee ſpent in the pay of ſouldiours, and proviſion of victualls?

Iren. Right ſo, but it is now not diſburſed at once, as it might be, but drawne out into a long length, by ſending over now 20000 pounds, and next halfe yeare 10000 pounds; ſo as the ſouldiour in the meane time, for want of due proviſion of victual, and good payment of his due, is ſtarved and conſumed; that of a 1000, which came over luſty able men, in halfe a yeare there are not left 500. And yet is the Queenes charge never a whit the leſſe, but what is not payd in preſent mony is accounted in debt, which will not be long unpayd; for the Captaine, halfe of whoſe ſouldiours are dead, and the other quarter never muſtered, nor ſeene, comes ſhortly to demand payment of his whole accompt, where, by good meanes of ſome great ones, and privy ſhareings with the officers and ſervants of other ſome, hee receiveth his debt, much leſſe perhaps then was due, yet much more indeede then he juſtly deſerved.

Eudox. I take this, ſure, to be no good huſbandry; for what muſt needes be ſpent, as good ſpend it at once, where

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is enough, as to have it drawne out into long delayes, ſeeing that thereby both the ſervice is much hindred, and yet nothing ſaved: but it may be, Irenæus, that the Queenes treaſure in ſo great occaſions of diſburſements (as it is well knowne ſhe hath beene at lately) is not alwayes ſo ready, nor ſo plentifull, as it can ſpare ſo great a ſumme together, but being payed as it is, now ſome and then ſome, it is no great burthen unto her, nor any great impoveriſhment to her coffers, ſeeing by ſuch delay of time, it dailie cometh in as faſt as ſhe parteth it out.

Iren. It may be as you ſay, but for the going thorough of ſo honorable a courſe I doubt not but if the Queenes coffers be not ſo well ſtored, (which we are not to looke into) but that the whole realme which now, as things are uſed, doe feele a continuall burthen of that wretched realme hanging upon their backes, would, for a ſmall riddance of all that trouble, be once troubled for all; and put to all their ſhoulders, and helping hands, and hearts alſo, to the defraying of that charge, moſt gladfully and willingly; and ſurely the charge, in effect, is nothing to the infinite great good which ſhould come thereby, both to the Queene, and all this realme generally, as when time ſerveth ſhall be ſhewed.

Eudox. How many men would you require to the furniſhing of this which yee take in hand? and how long ſpace would you have them entertained?

Iren. Verily, not above 10000 footemen, and a 1000 horſe, and all theſe not above the ſpace of a yeare and a halfe; for I would ſtill, as the heate of the ſervice abateth, abate the number in pay, and make other proviſion for them, as I will ſhew.

Eudox. Surely, it ſeemeth not much which you require, nor no long time; but how would you have them uſed? would you leade forth your army againſt the enemy, and ſeeke him where he is to fight?

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Iren. No, Eudoxus; that would not be, for it is well knowne that he is a flying enemie, hiding himſelfe in woodes and bogges, from whence he will not drawe forth, but into ſome ſtraight paſſage or perillous foord, where he knowes the army muſt needes paſſe; there will he lye in waite, and, if hee finde advantage fit, will dangerouſly hazard the troubled ſouldiour. Therefore to ſeeke him out that ſtill flitteth, and follow him that can hardly bee found, were vaine and bootleſſe; but I would devide my men in garriſon upon his countrey, in ſuch places as I ſhould thinke might moſt annoy him.

Eudox. But how can that be, Irenæus, with ſo few men? for the enemie, as you now ſee, is not all in one countrey, but ſome in Ulſter, ſome in Connaught, and others in Leinſter. So as to plant ſtrong garriſons in all thoſe places ſhould need manye more men then you ſpeake of, or to plant all in one, and to leave the reſt naked, ſhould be but to leave them to the ſpoyle.

Iren. I would wiſh the cheife power of the army to be garriſoned in one countrey that is ſtrongeſt, and the other upon the reſt that is weakeſt: As for example, the Earle of Tyrone is now accompted the ſtrongeſt; upon him would I lay 8000 men in garriſon, 1000 upon Pheagh Mac-Hugh and the Cavanaghes, and 1000 upon ſome parts of Connaught, to be at the direction of the Governour.

Eudox. I ſee now all your men beſtowed, but what places would you ſet their garriſon that they might riſe out moſt conveniently to ſervice? and though perhaps I am ignorant of the places, yet I will take the mappe of Ireland, and lay it before me, and make mine eyes (in the meane time) my ſchoole-maſters, to guide my underſtanding to judge of your plot.

Iren. Thoſe eight thouſand in Ulſter I would devide likewiſe into foure parts, ſo as there ſhould be 2000 footemen in every garriſon; the which I would thus place.

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Upon the Blacke water, in ſome convenient place, as high upon the river as might be, I would lay one garriſon. Another would I put at Caſtle-liffer, or there-abouts, ſo as they ſhould have all the paſſages upon the river to Loghfoyle. The third I would place about Fermanagh or Bundroiſe, ſo as they might lye betweene Connaght and Ulſter, to ſerve upon both ſides, as occaſion ſhall be offered; and this therefore would I have ſtronger than any of the reſt, becauſe it ſhould be moſt inforced, and moſt imployed, and that they might put wardes at Balliſhanon and Belick, and all thoſe paſſages. The laſt would I ſet about Monoghan or Balturbut, ſo as it ſhould fronte both upon the enemie that way, and alſo keepe the countreys of Cavan and Meath in awe from paſſage of ſtraglers from thoſe parts, whence they uſe to come forth, and oftentimes uſe to worke much miſcheife. And to every of theſe garriſons of 2000. footemen I would have 200. horſemen added, for the one without the other can doe but little ſervice. The 4 garriſons, thus being placed, I would have to bee victualled before hand for halfe a yeare, which you will ſay to be hard, conſidering the corruption and uſuall waſte of victualls. But why ſhould not they be aſwell victualled for ſo long time, as the ſhips are uſually for a yeare, and ſometimes two, ſeeing it is eaſier to keepe victual on land then water? Their bread I would have in flower, ſo as it might be baked ſtill to ſerve their neceſſary want. Their beere there alſo brewed within them, from time to time, and their beefe before hand barelled, the which may bee uſed but as it is needed; for I make no doubt but freſh victualls they will ſometimes purvay for themſelves amongſt their enemies. Hereunto likewiſe would I have them have a ſtore of hoſe and ſhooes, with ſuch other neceſſaries as may be needefull for ſouldiours, ſo as they ſhall have no occaſion to looke for releife from abroad, or occaſion of ſuch trouble, for

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their continuall ſupply, as I ſee and have often proved in Ireland to bee more cumberous to the Deputy, and dangerous to them that releive them, then halfe the leading of an army; for the enemy, knowing the ordinary wayes thorough the which their releife muſt be brought them, uſeth commonly to draw himſelfe into the ſtraight paſſages thitherward, and oftentimes doth dangerouſly diſtreſſe them: beſides, the pay of ſuch force as ſhould be ſent for their convoy, the charge of the carriages, the exactions of the countrey ſhall be ſpared. But onely every halfe yeare the ſupply brought by the Deputy himſelfe, and his power, who ſhall then viſite and overlooke all thoſe garriſons, to ſee what is needefull, to change what is expedient, and to direct what hee ſhall beſt adviſe. And thoſe 4 garriſons iſſuing forth, at ſuch convenient times as they ſhall have intelligence or eſpiall upon the enemy, will ſo drive him from one ſide to another, and tennis him amongſt them, that he ſhall finde no where ſafe to keepe his creete in, nor hide himſelfe, but flying from the fire ſhall fall into the water, and out of one danger into another, that in ſhort ſpace his creete, which is his cheife ſuſtenence, ſhall be waſted with preying, or killed with driving, or ſtarved for want of paſture in the woods, and he himſelfe brought ſo lowe, that he ſhall have no heart nor ability to indure his wretchedneſſe, the which will ſurely come to paſſe in very ſhort time; for one winter well followed upon him will ſo plucke him on his knees, that he will never be able to ſtand up againe.

Eudox. Doe you then thinke the winter time fitteſt for the ſervices of Ireland? how falls it then that our moſt imployments bee in ſummer, and the armies then led commonly forth?

Iren. It is ſurely miſconceived; for it is not with Ireland as it is with other countryes, where the warres flame moſt in ſummer, and the helmets gliſter brighteſt in the faireſt

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ſunſhine: But in Ireland the winter yeeldeth beſt ſervices, for then the trees are bare and naked, which uſe both to cloathe and houſe the kerne; the ground is cold and wet, which uſeth to be his bedding; the aire is ſharpe and bitter to blowe thorough his naked ſides and legges; the kyne are barren and without milke, which uſeth to be his onely foode, neither if he kill them, will they yeeld him fleſh, nor if he keepe them will they give him food; beſides being all with calfe (for the moſt part) they will, thorough much chaſing and driving, caſt all their calves, and loſe their milke, which ſhould releive him the next ſummer.

Eudox. I doe well underſtand your reaſon; but, by your leave, I have heard it otherwiſe ſaid, of ſome that were outlawes, that in ſummer they kept themſelves quiet, but in winter they would play their parts, and when the nights were longeſt, then burne and ſpoyle moſt, ſo that they might ſafely returne before day.

Iren. I have likewiſe heard, and alſo ſeene proofe thereof true: But that was of ſuch outlawes as were either abiding in well inhabited countryes, as in Mounſter, or bordering on the Engliſh pale, as Feagh Mac Hugh, the Cavanaghes, the Moors, the Dempſies, or ſuch like: For for them the winter indeede is the fitteſt time for ſpoyling and robbing, becauſe the nights are then (as you ſaid) longeſt and darkeſt, and alſo the countryes round about are then moſt full of corne, and good proviſion to be gotten every where by them; but it is farre otherwiſe with a ſtrong peopled enemy, that poſſeſſe a whole countrey, for the other being but a few, and indeede privily lodged, and kept in out villages, and corners nigh to the woodes and mountaines, by ſome of their privy friends, to whom they bring their ſpoyles and ſtealthes, and of whom they continually receive ſecret releife; but the open enemy having all his countrey waſted, what by himſelfe,

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and what by the ſouldiours, findeth them ſuccour in no place. Townes there are none of which he may get ſpoyle, they are all burnt: bread he hath none, he ploweth not in ſummer; Fleſh he hath, but if he kill it in winter, he ſhall want milke in ſummer, and ſhortly want life. Therefore if they bee well followed but one winter, you ſhall have little worke with them the next ſummer.

Eudox. I doe now well perceive the difference, and doe verily thinke that the winter time is there fitteſt for ſervice: withall I conceive the manner of your handling of the ſervice, by drawing ſuddaine draughts upon the enemy, when he looketh not for you, and to watch advantages upon him as hee doth upon you. By which ſtraight keeping of them in, and not ſuffering them at any time long to reſt, I muſt needes thinke that they will ſoone be brought lowe, and driven to great extreamities. All which when you have performed, and brought them to the very laſt caſt, ſuppoſe that they will offer, either to come to you and ſubmit themſelves, or that ſome of them will ſeeke to withdraw themſelves, what is your advice to doe? will you have them received?

Iren. No; but at the beginning of thoſe warres, and when the garriſons are well planted and fortified, I would wiſh a proclamation were made generally to come to their knowledge:—That what perſons ſoever would within twenty dayes abſolutely ſubmit themſelves, (excepting onely the very principalls and ring-leaders) ſhould finde grace: I doubt not, but upon the ſettling of theſe garriſons, ſuch a terrour and neere conſideration of their perillous ſtate would be ſtrucken into moſt of them, that they will covet to drawe away from their leaders. And againe I well know that the rebells themſelves (as I ſaw by proofe in Deſmonds warre) will turne away all their raſcall people, whom they thinke unſerviceable, as old men, women, children, and hyndes, (which they call churles,) which

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would onely waſte their victualls, and yeeld them no ayde; but their cattle they will ſurely keepe away: Theſe therefore though policy would turne them backe againe, that they might the rather conſume and afflict the other rebells, yet in a pittyfull commiſeration I would wiſh them to be received; the rather for that this ſort of baſe people doth not for the moſt part rebell of themſelves, having no heart thereunto, but are by force drawne by the grand rebells into their action, and carryed away with the violence of the ſtreame, elſe they ſhould be ſure to looſe all that they have, and perhaps their lives too; the which they now carry unto them, in hope to enjoy them there, but they are there by the ſtrong rebells themſelves ſoone turned out of all, ſo that the conſtraint hereof may in them deſerve pardon. Likewiſe if any of their able men or gentlemen ſhall then offer to come away, and to bring their cattle with them, as ſome no doubt may ſteale them away privily, I wiſh them alſo to be received, for the diſabling of the enemy, but withall, that good aſſurance may be taken of their true behaviour and abſolute ſubmiſſion, and that then they be not ſuffered to remaine any longer in thoſe parts, no nor about the garriſons, but ſent away into the inner parts of the realme, and diſperſed in ſuch ſort as they may not come together, nor eaſily returne if they would: For if they might bee ſuffered to remaine about the garriſons, and there inhabite, as they will offer to till the ground, and yeeld a great part of the profit thereof, and of their cattle, to the Coronell, wherewith they have heretofore tempted many, they would (as I have by experience knowne) bee ever after ſuch a gaule and inconvenience to them, as that their profit ſhall not recompence their hurt; for they will privily releive their friends that are forth; they will ſend the enemy ſecret advertizements of all their purpoſes and journeyes which they meane to make upon them; they will not alſo ſticke to drawe the

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enemy privily upon them, yea and to betray the forte it ſelfe, by diſcovery of all her defects and diſadvantages (if any be) to the cutting of all their throates. For avoiding whereof and many other inconveniences, I wiſh that they ſhould be carried farre from thence into ſome other parts, ſo that (as I ſay) they come in and ſubmit themſelves, upon the firſt ſummons: But afterwards I would have none received, but left to their fortune and miſerable end: my reaſon is, for that thoſe which will afterwards remaine without are ſtout and obſtinate rebells, ſuch as will never be made dutiful and obedient, nor brought to labour or civill converſation, having once taſted that licentious life, and being acquainted with ſpoyle and outrages, will ever after be ready for the like occaſions, ſo as there is no hope of their amendment or recovery, and therefore needefull to be cut off.

Eudox. Surely of ſuch deſperate perſons, as will follow the courſe of their owne folly, there is no compaſſion to bee had, and for others you have propoſed a mercifull meanes, much more then they have deſerved: but what then ſhall be the concluſion of this warre? for you have prefixed a ſhort time of its continuance.

Iren. The end will (I aſſure me) bee very ſhort and much ſooner then can be, in ſo great a trouble as it ſeemeth hoped for, although there ſhould none of them fall by the ſword, nor bee ſlaine by the ſouldiour, yet thus being kept from manurance, and their cattle from running abroad, by this hard reſtraint they would quickly conſume themſelves, and devoure one another. The proofe whereof I ſaw ſufficiently exampled in theſe late warres of Mounſter; for notwithſtanding that the ſame was a moſt rich and plentifull countrey, full of corne and cattle, that you would have thought they ſhould have beene able to ſtand long, yet ere one yeare and a halfe they were brought to ſuch wretchedneſſe, as that any

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ſtony heart would have rued the ſame. Out of every corner of the woods and glynnes they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legges could not beare them; they looked like anatomies of death, they ſpake like ghoſts crying out of their graves; they did eate the dead carrions, happy where they could finde them, yea, and one another ſoone after, inſomuch as the very carcaſſes they ſpared not to ſcrape out of their graves; and if they found a plot of water-creſſes or ſhamrocks, there they flocked as to a feaſt for the time, yet not able long to continue therewithall; that in ſhort ſpace there were none almoſt left, and a moſt populous and plentifull countrey ſuddainely left voyde of man and beaſt: yet ſure in all that warre, there periſhed not many by the ſword, but all by the extremitie of famine which they themſelves had wrought.

Eudox. It is a wonder that you tell, and more to bee wondred how it ſhould ſo ſhortly come to paſſe.

Iren. It is moſt true, and the reaſon alſo very ready; for you muſt conceive that the ſtrength of all that nation is the Kerne, Galloglaſſe, Stocah, Horſeman, and Horſeboy, the which having beene never uſed to have any thing of their owne, and now being upon ſpoyle of others, make no ſpare of any thing, but havocke and confuſion of all they meet with, whether it bee their owne friends goods, or their foes. And if they happen to get never ſo great ſpoyle at any time, the ſame they waſte and conſume in a tryce, as naturally delighting in ſpoyle, though it doe themſelves no good. On the other ſide, whatſoever they leave unſpent, the ſouldier, when hee commeth there, ſpoyleth and havocketh likewiſe, ſo that betweene both nothing is very ſhortly left. And yet this is very neceſſary to bee done for the ſoone finiſhing of the warre, and not onely this in this wiſe, but alſo thoſe ſubjects which doe border upon thoſe parts, are

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either to bee removed and drawne away, or likewiſe to bee ſpoyled, that the enemy may find no ſuccour thereby: for what the ſouldier ſpares the rebell will ſurely ſpoyle.

Eudox. I doe now well underſtand you. But now when all things are brought to this paſſe, and all filled with theſe ruefull ſpectacles of ſo many wretched carcaſes ſtarving, goodly countreys waſted, ſo huge deſolation and confuſion, that even I that doe but heare it from you, and do picture it in my minde, doe greatly pittie and commiſerate it, if it ſhall happen, that the ſtate of this miſerie and lamentable image of things ſhall bee tolde, and feelingly preſented to her Sacred Majeſtie, being by nature full of mercy and clemency, who is moſt inclinable to ſuch pittifull complaints, and will not endure to heare ſuch tragedies made of her poore people and ſubjects as ſome about her may inſinuate; then ſhe perhappes, for very compaſſion of ſuch calamities, will not onely ſtoppe the ſtreame of ſuch violences, and returne to her wonted mildneſſe, but alſo conne them little thankes which have beene the authours and counſellours of ſuch bloodie platformes. So I remember that in the late government of that good Lord Grey, when, after long travell and many perillous aſſayes, he had brought things almoſt to this paſſe that you ſpeake of, that it was even made ready for reformation, and might have beene brought to what her Majeſtie would, like complaint was made againſt him, that he was a bloodie man, and regarded not the life of her ſubjects no more then dogges, but had waſted and conſumed all, ſo as now ſhe had nothing almoſt left, but to raigne in their aſhes; eare was ſoon lent thereunto, and all ſuddenly turned topſideturvy; the noble Lord eft-ſoones was blamed; the wretched people pittied; and new counſells plotted, in which it was concluded that a general pardon ſhould be

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ſent over to all that would accept of it, upon which all former purpoſes were blancked, the Governour at a bay, and not only all that great and long charge which ſhee had before beene at quite loſt and cancelled, but alſo that hope of good which was even at the doore put back, and cleane fruſtrated. All which, whether it be true, or no, your ſelfe can well tell.

Iren. Too true, Eudoxus, the more the pitty, for I may not forget ſo memorable a thing: neither can I bee ignorant of that perillous device, and of the whole meanes by which it was compaſſed, and very cunningly contrived by ſowing firſt diſſention betweene him and an other Noble Perſonage, wherein they both at length found how notably they had beene abuſed, and how thereby, under hand, this univerſal alteration of things was brought about, but then too late to ſtay the ſame; for in the meane time all that was formerly done with long labor and great toyle, was (as you ſay) in a moment undone, and that good Lord blotted with the name of a bloody man, whom, who that well knew, knew to be moſt gentle, affable, loving, and temperate; but that the neceſſitie of that preſent ſtate of things inforced him to that violence, and almoſt changed his naturall diſpoſition. But otherwiſe he was ſo farre from delighting in blood, that oftentimes he ſuffered not juſt vengeance to fall where it was deſerved: and even ſome of them which were afterwardes his accuſers, had taſted too much of his mercy, and were from the gallowes brought to bee his accuſers. But his courſe indeede was this, that hee ſpared not the heades and principalls of any miſchievous practiſes or rebellion, but ſhewed ſharpe judgement on them, chiefly for enſamples ſake, that all the meaner ſort, which alſo were generally then infected with that evill, might by terrour thereof bee reclaymed, and ſaved, if it were poſſible. For in the laſt conſpiracy of ſome

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of the Engliſh Pale,[b] thinke you not that there were many more guiltie then they that felt the puniſhment? yet hee touched only a few of ſpecial note; and in the tryall of them alſo even to prevent the blame of cruelty and partiall proceeding, and ſeeking their blood, which he, as in his great wiſedome (as it ſeemeth) did fore-ſee would bee objected againſt him; hee, for the avoyding thereof, did uſe a ſingular diſcretion and regard. For the Jury that went upon their tryall, hee made to bee choſen out of their neareſt kinſmen, and their Judges he made of ſome of their owne fathers, of others their uncles and deareſt friends, who when they could not but juſtly condemne them, yet hee uttered their judgment in aboundance of teares, and yet hee even herein was called bloody and cruell.

Eudox. Indeed ſo have I heard it heere often ſpoken, but I perceive (as I alwayes verily thought) that it was moſt unjuſtly; for hee was alwayes knowne to bee a moſt juſt, ſincere, godly, and right noble man, farre from ſuch ſterneneſſe, farre from ſuch unrighteouſneſſe. But in that ſharpe execution of the Spaniards at the Fort of Smerwicke, I heard it ſpecially noted, and, if it were true as ſome reported, ſurely it was a great touch to him in honour, for ſome ſay that he promiſed them life; others at leaſt [that] hee did put them in hope thereof.

Iren. Both the one and the other is moſt untrue; for this I can aſſure you, my ſelfe being as neare them as any, that hee was ſo farre either from promiſing, or putting them in hope, that when firſt their Secretarie, called, (as I remember) Signior Jeffrey, an Italian, being ſent to treate with the Lord Deputie for grace, was flatly refuſed; and afterwards their Coronell, named Don Sebaſtian, came

[b] *ſome of the Engliſh Pale.*] Conſulas (ſi placet) Camden. Annal. Rerum Anglic. & Hiber. ad an. 1580. Sir James Ware.

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forth to intreate that they might part with their armes like ſouldiers, at leaſt with their lives, according to the cuſtome of warre and law of nations, it was ſtrongly denyed him, and tolde him by the Lord Deputie himſelfe, that they could not juſtly pleade either cuſtome of warre, or law of nations, for that they were not any lawfull enemies; and if they were, hee willed them to ſhew by what commiſſion they came thither into another Princes dominions to warre, whether from the Pope or the King of Spaine, or any other: the which when they ſaid they had not, but were onely adventurers that came to ſeeke fortune abroad, and to ſerve in warre amongſt the Iriſh, who deſired to entertaine them, it was then tolde them, that the Iriſh themſelves, as the Earle and John of Deſmond with the reſt, were no lawfull enemies, but rebells and traytours; and therefore they that came to ſuccour them no better then rogues and runnagates, ſpecially comming with no licence, nor commiſſion from their owne King: So as it ſhould bee diſhonorable for him in the name of his Queene to condition or make any tearmes with ſuch raſcalls, but left them to their choyce, to yeeld and ſubmit themſelves, or no. Whereupon the ſaid Colonell did abſolutely yeeld himſelfe and the fort, with all therein, and craved onely mercy, which it being not thought good to ſhew them, for daunger of them, if, being ſaved, they ſhould afterwardes joyne with the Iriſh, and alſo for terrour to the Iriſh, who are much imboldened by thoſe forraigne ſuccours, and alſo put in hope of more ere long, there was no other way but to make that ſhort end of them as was made. Therefore moſt untruely and maliciouſly doe theſe evill tongues backbite and ſlander the ſacred aſhes of that moſt juſt and honourable perſonage, whoſe leaſt virtue, of many moſt excellent that abounded in his heroicke ſpirit, they were never able to aſpire unto.

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Eudox. Truely, Irenæus, I am right glad to be thus ſatisfied by you in that I have often heard queſtioned, and yet was never able, till now, to choake the mouth of ſuch detractours with the certaine knowledge of their ſlanderous untruthes: neither is the knowledge hereof impertinent to that which wee formerly had in hand, I meane for the thorough proſecuting of that ſharpe courſe which you have ſet downe for the bringing under of thoſe rebells of Ulſter and Connaght, and preparing a way for their perpetuall reformation, leaſt haply, by any ſuch ſiniſter ſuggeſtions of crueltie and too much blood-ſhed, all the plot might be overthrowne, and all the coſte and labour therein imployed bee utterly loſt and caſt away.

Iren. You ſay moſt true; for, after that Lords calling away from thence, the two Lords Juſtices continued but a while: of which the one was of minde (as it ſeemed) to have continued in the footing of his predeceſſors, but that he was curbed and reſtrayned. But the other was more mildly diſpoſed, as was meete for his profeſſion, and willing to have all the wounds of that commonwealth healed and recured, but not with that heede as they ſhould bee. After, when Sir John Perrot, ſucceeding (as it were) into another mans harveſt, found an open way to what courſe hee liſt, the which hee bent not to that point which the former governours intended, but rather quite contrary, as it were in ſcorne of the former, and in vaine vaunt of his owne councells, with the which hee was too willfully carryed; for hee did treade downe and diſgrace all the Engliſh, and ſet up and countenance the Iriſh all that hee could, whether thinking thereby to make them more tractable and buxome to his government, (wherein hee thought much amiſſe) or privily plotting ſome other purpoſes of his owne, as it partly afterwards appeared; but ſurely his manner of governement could

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not be ſound nor wholeſome for that realme, it being ſo contrary to the former. For it was even as two phyſicians ſhould take one ſicke body in hand at two ſundry times; of which the former would miniſter all things meete to purge and keepe under the bodie, the other to pamper and ſtrengthen it ſuddenly againe, whereof what is to bee looked for but a moſt daungerous relapſe? That which wee now ſee thorough his rule, and the next after him, happened thereunto, being now more daungerouſly ſicke then ever before. Therefore by all meanes it muſt bee fore-ſeene and aſſured, that after once entering into this courſe of reformation, there bee afterwardes no remorſe nor drawing backe for the ſight of any ſuch ruefull objects as muſt thereupon followe, nor for compaſſion of their calamities, ſeeing that by no other meanes it is poſſible to cure them, and that theſe are not of will, but of very urgent neceſſitie.

Eudox. Thus farre then you have now proceeded to plant your garriſons, and to direct their ſervices; of the which nevertheleſſe I muſt needes conceive that there cannot be any certaine direction ſet downe, ſo that they muſt follow the occaſions which ſhall bee daylie offered, and diligently awayted. But, by your leave (Irenæus), notwithſtanding all this your carefull fore-ſight and proviſion (mee thinkes) I ſee an evill lurke uneſpyed, and that may chance to hazard all the hope of this great ſervice, if it bee not very well looked into; and that is, the corruption of their captaines: for though they be placed never ſo carefully, and their companies filled never ſo ſufficiently, yet may they, if they liſt, diſcarde whom they pleaſe, and ſend away ſuch as will perhappes willingly bee ridde of that dangerous and hard ſervice, the which (well I wote) is their common cuſtome to doe, when they are layde in garriſon, for then they may better hide their defaults, then when they are in campe, where they are con-

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tinually eyed and noted of all men. Beſides, when their pay commeth, they will (as they ſay) detaine the greateſt portions thereof at their pleaſure, by a hundred ſhifts that need not here be named, through which they oftentimes deceive the ſouldier, and abuſe the Queene, and greatly hinder the ſervice. So that let the Queene pay never ſo fully, let the muſter-maſter view them never ſo diligently, let the deputy or generall looke to them never ſo exactly, yet they can cozen them all. Therefore methinkes it were good, if it be poſſible, to make proviſion for this inconvenience.

Iren. It will ſurely be very hard; but the chiefeſt helpe for prevention hereof muſt be the care of the coronell that hath the government of all his garriſon, to have an eye to their alterations, to know the numbers and names of the ſick ſouldiers, and the ſlaine, to marke and obſerve their rankes in their daylie riſing forth to ſervice, by which he cannot eaſily bee abuſed, ſo that hee himſelfe bee a man of ſpeciall aſſurance and integritie. And therefore great regard is to bee had in the chooſing and appointing of them. Beſides, I would not by any meanes that the captaines ſhould have the paying of their ſouldiers, but that there ſhould bee a pay-maſter appointed, of ſpeciall truſt, which ſhould pay every man according to his captaines ticket, and the accompt of the clerke of his band, for by this meanes the captaine will never ſeeke to falſifie his alterations, nor to diminiſh his company, nor to deceive his ſouldiers, when nothing thereof ſhalbe ſure to come unto himſelfe but what is his owne bare pay. And this is the manner of the Spaniards captaine, who never hath to meddle with his ſouldiers pay, and indeed ſcorneth the name as baſe to be counted his ſouldiers pagadore;[c]

[c] *his ſouldiers pagadore.*] *Pagador*, Spaniſh; a paymaſter or treaſurer. Todd. It does not ſtrictly mean "treaſurer," but is the proper term for the *paymaſter* of a regiment; from *pagar*, to pay. C.

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whereas the contrary amongſt us hath brought things to ſo bad a paſſe, that there is no captaine, but thinkes his band very ſufficient, if hee can muſter 60, and ſtickes not to ſay openly, that he is unworthy to have a captainſhip, that cannot make it worth 500*l.* by the yeare, the which they right well verifie by the proofe.

Eudox. Truely I thinke this is a very good meanes to avoid that inconvenience of captaines abuſes. But what ſay you to the coronell? what authority thinke you meete to be given him? whether will you allow him to protect or ſafe conduct, and to have martiall lawes as they are accuſtomed?

Iren. Yea verily, but all theſe to bee limited with very ſtraite inſtructions. As firſt for protections, that hee ſhall have authority after the firſt proclamation, for the ſpace of twentie dayes, to protect all that ſhall come in, and them to ſend to the Lord Deputy, with their ſafe conduct or paſſe, to bee at his diſpoſition; but ſo as none of them returne backe againe, being once come in, but be preſently ſent away out of the countrey, to the next ſheriffe, and ſo conveyed in ſafetie. And likewiſe for martiall lawe, that to the ſouldier it bee not extended, but by tryall formerly of his cryme, by a jury of his fellow ſouldiers as it ought to bee, and not raſhly, at the will or diſpleaſure of the coronell, as I have ſometimes ſeene too lightly. And as for other of the rebells that ſhall light into their handes, that they bee well aware of what condition they bee, and what holding they have. For, in the laſt generall warres there, I knew many good freeholders executed by martiall law, whoſe landes were thereby ſaved to their heires, which ſhould have otherwiſe eſcheated to her Majeſtie. In all which, the great diſcretion and uprightneſſe of the coronell himſelfe is to bee the cheifeſt ſtay both for all thoſe doubts, and for many other difficulties that may in the ſervice happen.

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Eudox. Your caution is very good; but now touching the arch-rebell himſelfe, I meane the Earle of Tyrone, if he, in all the time of theſe warres, ſhould offer to come in and ſubmit himſelfe to her Majeſtie, would you not have him received, giving good hoſtages, and ſufficient aſſurance of himſelfe?

Iren. No, marrie; for there is no doubt, but hee will offer to come in, as hee hath done divers times already, but it is without any intent of true ſubmiſſion, as the effect hath well ſhewed; neither indeed can hee now, if hee would, come in at all, nor give that aſſurance of himſelfe that ſhould bee meete, for being, as hee is, very ſubtle headed, ſeeing himſelfe now ſo farre engaged in this bad action, can you thinke that by his ſubmiſſion hee can purchaſe to himſelfe any ſafetie, but that heereafter, when things ſhall bee quieted, theſe his villanies will be ever remembered? and whenſoever hee ſhall treade awry (as needes the moſt righteous muſt ſometimes) advantage will bee taken thereof, as a breach of his pardon, and hee brought to a reckoning for all former matters: beſides, how hard it is now for him to frame himſelfe to ſubjection, that having once ſet before his eyes the hope of a kingdome, hath thereunto not onely found incouragement from the greateſt King in Chriſtendome, but alſo found great faintnes in her Majeſties withſtanding him, whereby he is animated to think that his power is able to defend him, and offend further then he hath done, whenſoever he pleaſe, let every reaſonable man judge. But if hee himſelfe ſhould come [in], and leave all other his accomplices without, as O Donel, Mac Mahone, Maguire, and the reſt, he muſt needs thinke that then, even they will ere long cut his throate, which having drawne them all into this occaſion, now in the midſt of their trouble giveth them the ſlip; whereby hee muſt needes perceive how impoſſible it is for him to ſubmit himſelfe. But yet if hee would ſo

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doe, can he give any good aſſurance of his obedience? For how weake hould is there by hoſtages hath too often beene proved, and that which is ſpoken of taking Shane O-Neales ſonnes from him, and ſetting them up againſt him as a very perillous counſaile, and not by any meanes to be put in proofe; for were they let forth and could overthrowe him, who ſhould afterwards overthrow them, or what aſſurance can be had of them? It will be like the tale in Æſop of the wild horſe, who, having enmity with the ſtagg, came to a man to deſire his ayde againſt his foe, who yeelding thereunto mounted upon his backe, and ſo following the ſtagge ere long ſlew him, but then when the horſe would have him alight he refuſed, but ever after kept him in his ſubjection and ſervice. Such I doubt would bee the proofe of Shane O-Neales ſonnes. Therefore it is moſt dangerous to attempt any ſuch plot; for even that very manner of plot, was the meanes by which this trayterous Earle is now made great: for when the laſt O-Neale, called Terlagh Leinagh, began to ſtand upon ſome tickle termes, this fellow, then called Baron of Dunganon, was ſet up as it were to beard him, and countenanced and ſtrengthened by the Queene ſo far, as that he is now able to keepe her ſelfe play: much like unto a gameſter that having loſt all, borroweth of his next fellow-gameſter ſomewhat to maintaine play, which he, ſetting unto him againe, ſhortly thereby winneth all from the winner.

Eudox. Was this rebell then ſet up at firſt by the Queene (as you ſay), and now become ſo undutifull?

Iren. He was (I aſſure you) the moſt outcaſt of all the O-Neales then, and lifted up by her Majeſty out of the duſt, to that he hath now wrought himſelfe unto, and now hee playeth like the frozen ſnake, who being for compaſſion releived by the huſbandman, ſoone after he was

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warme began to hiſſe, and threaten danger even to him and his.

Eudox. He ſurely then deſerveth the puniſhment of that ſnake, and ſhould worthily be hewed to peeces. But if you like not the letting forth of Shane O-Neales ſonnes againſt him, what ſay you then of that advice which (I heard) was given by ſome, to draw in Scotts, to ſerve againſt him? how like you that advice?

Iren. Much worſe then the former; for who that is experienced in thoſe parts knoweth not that the O-Neales are neearely allyed unto the Mac-Neiles of Scotland, and to the Earle of Argyle, from whence they uſe to have all ſuccours of thoſe Scottes and Redſhankes? Beſides, all theſe Scottes are, through long continuance, intermingled and allyed to all the inhabitants of the North; ſo as there is no hope[d] that they will ever be wrought to ſerve faithfully againſt their old friends and kinſmen: And though they would, how when they have overthrowne him, and the warres are finiſhed, ſhall they themſelves be put out? Doe we not all know, that the Scottes were the firſt inhabitants of all the North, and that thoſe which now are called the North Iriſh are indeed very Scottes,[e] which challenge the ancient inheritance and dominion of that countrey to be their owne aunciently. This then were but to leap out of the pan into the fire; for the cheifeſt caveat and proviſion in reformation of the North muſt be to keep out thoſe Scottes.

Eudox. Indeede, I remember that in your diſcourſe of the firſt peopling of Ireland, you ſhewed that the Scythians

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[d] *ſo as there is no hope,* &c.] The cauſes of theſe feares have been amputated, ſince the happy union of England and Scotland, eſtabliſhed by his late Majeſty. SIR JAMES WARE.

[e] *very Scottes.*] Vide Bed. Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. 1. cap. 1. SIR JAMES WARE.

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or Scottes were the firſt that ſate downe in the North, whereby it ſeemes that they may challenge ſome right therein. How comes it then that O-Neale claimes the dominion thereof, and this Earle of Tyrone ſaith that the right is in him? I pray you reſolve me herein; for it is very needefull to be knowne, and maketh unto the right of the warre againſt him, whoſe ſucceſſe uſeth commonly to be according to the juſtnes of the cauſe, for which it is made: For if Tyrone have any right in that ſeigniory (me thinkes) it ſhould be wrong to thruſt him out: Or if (as I remember) you ſaid in the beginning, that O-Neale, when he acknowledged the King of England for his leige Lord and Soveraigne, did (as he alleadgeth) reſerve in the ſame ſubmiſſion his ſeigniories and rights unto himſelfe, what ſhould it be accounted to thruſt him out of the ſame?

Iren. For the right of O-Neale in the ſeigniory of the North, it is ſurely none at all: For beſides that the Kings of England conquered all the realme, and thereby aſſumed and inveſted all the right of that land to themſelves and their heires and ſucceſſours for ever, ſo as nothing was left in O-Neale but what he received backe from them, O-Neale himſelfe never had any ancient ſeigniory over that country, but what by uſurpation and incroachment, after the death of the Duke of Clarence, he got upon the Engliſh, whoſe lands and poſſeſſions being formerly waſted by the Scottes, under the leading of Edward le Bruce, (as I formerly declared unto you) he eft-ſoones entred into, and ſithence hath wrongfully detained, through the other occupations and great affaires which the Kings of England (ſoone after) fell into here at home, ſo as they could not intend to the recovery of that countrey of the North, nor reſtraine the inſolency of O-Neale; who, finding none now to withſtand him, raigned in that deſolation, and made himſelfe Lord of thoſe few people

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that remained there, upon whom ever ſithence he hath continued his firſt uſurped power, and now extracteth and extorteth upon all men what he liſt: ſo that now to ſubdue or expell an uſurper, ſhould bee no unjuſt enterpriſe or wrongfull warre, but a reſtitution of auncient right unto the crowne of England, from whence they were moſt unjuſtly expelled and long kept out.

Eudox. I am very glad herein to be thus ſatisfied by you, that I may the better ſatisfie them whom I have often heard to object theſe doubts, and ſlaunderouſly to barke at the courſes which are held againſt that trayterous Earle and his adherents. But now that you have thus ſettled your ſervice for Ulſter and Connaght, I would bee glad to heare your opinion for the proſecuting of Feagh Mac Hugh, who being but a baſe villaine, and of himſelfe of no power, yet ſo continually troubleth the ſtate, notwithſtanding that he lyeth under their noſe, that I diſdaine his bold arrogancy, and thinke it to be the greateſt indignity to the Queene that may be, to ſuffer ſuch a caytiffe to play ſuch *Rex*, and by his enſample not onely to give heart and incoragement to all ſuch bad rebells, but alſo to yeeld them ſuccour and refuge againſt her Majeſty, whenſoever they fly unto his Comericke: whereof I would firſt wiſh, before you enter into your plot of ſervice againſt him, that you ſhould lay open by what meanes he, being ſo baſe, firſt lifted himſelfe up to this dangerous greatnes, and how he maintaineth his part againſt the Queene and her power, notwithſtanding all that hath beene done and attempted againſt him. And whether alſo hee have any pretence of right in the lands which he houldeth, or in the warres that he maketh for the ſame?

Iren. I will ſo, at your pleaſure, and will further declare, not only the firſt beginning of his private houſe, but alſo the originall of the Sept of the Birnes and Tooles,

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ſo farre as I have learned the ſame from ſome of themſelves, and gathered the reſt by reading: The people of the Birnes and Tooles (as before I ſhewed unto you my conjecture) deſcended from the auncient Brittaines, which firſt inhabited all thoſe eaſterne parts of Ireland, as their names doe betoken; for Brin in the brittiſh language ſignifieth wooddy,[f] and Toole hilly, which names, it ſeemeth, they tooke of the countryes which they inhabited, which is all very mountainous and woody. In the which it ſeemeth that ever ſince the comming in of the Engliſh with Dermot ni-Gall,[g] they have continued: Whether that their countrey being ſo rude and mountainous was of them deſpiſed, and thought unworthy the inhabiting, or that they were received to grace by them, and ſuffered to enjoy their lands as unfit for any other, yet it ſeemeth that in ſome places of the ſame they have put foote, and fortified with ſundry caſtles, of which the ruines onely doe there now remaine, ſince which time they are growne to that ſtrength, that they are able to lift up hand againſt all that ſtate; and now lately, through the boldnes and late good ſucceſſe of this Feagh Mac Hugh, they are ſo farre imboldened, that they threaten perill even to Dublin, over whoſe necke they continually hang. But touching your demand of this Feaghes right unto that countrey which he claimes, or the ſeigniory therein, it is moſt vaine and arrogant. For [of] this you cannot be ignorant, that it was part of that which was given in inheritance by Der-

[f] *Brin in the brittiſh language ſignifieth wooddy.*] In Richard Creagh's booke De Linguâ Hibernicâ, there is a very plentiful collection of Iriſh words derived from the Brittiſh or Welch tongue, which doth much ſtrengthen the authors opinion, in houlding that the Birnes, Tooles, and Cavenaghs, with other the ancient inhabitants of the eaſterne parts, were originally Britiſh colonyes. SIR JAMES WARE.

[g] *Dermot ni-Gall.*] Dermot MacMorrogh, King of Leinſter, who was ſurnamed ni-Gall, as being a friend to the Engliſh, and chiefe inſtrument in inciting them to the conqueſt of Ireland. SIR JAMES WARE.

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mot Mac Morrough, King of Leinſter, unto Strongbowe with his daughter, and which Strongbowe gave over unto the King and his heires, ſo as the right is abſolutely now in her Majeſty; and if it were not, yet could it not be in this Feagh, but in O Brin,[h] which is the ancient Lord of all that countrey; for he and his aunceſtours were but followers unto O Brin, and his grandfather, Shane Mac Terlagh, was a man of meaneſt regard amongſt them, neither having wealth nor power. But his ſonne Hugh Mac Shane, the father of this Feagh, firſt began to lift up his head, and through the ſtrength and great faſtnes of Glan-Malor, which adjoyneth unto his houſe of Ballinecor, drew unto him many theeves and out-lawes, which fled unto the ſuccour of that glynne, as to a ſanctuary, and brought unto him part of the ſpoyle of all the countrey, through which he grew ſtrong, and in ſhort ſpace got unto himſelfe a great name thereby amongſt the Iriſh, in whoſe footing this his ſonne continuing hath, through many unhappy occaſions, increaſed his ſaid name, and the opinion of his greatnes, inſomuch that now he is become a dangerous enemy to deale withall.

Eudox. Surely I can commend him, that being of himſelfe of ſo meane condition, hath through his owne hardineſſe lifted himſelfe up to the height that he dare now front princes, and make tearmes with great potentates; the which as it is to him honourable, ſo it is to them moſt diſgracefull, to be bearded of ſuch a baſe varlet, that being but of late growne out of the dunghill beginneth now to overcrow ſo high mountaines, and make himſelfe great protectour of all outlawes and rebells that will repaire unto him. But doe you thinke he is now ſo dangerous an enemy as he is counted, or that it is ſo hard to take him downe as ſome ſuppoſe?

Iren. No verily, there is no great reckoning to bee

[h] *O Brin.*] Or O-Birne. SIR JAMES WARE.

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made of him; for had hee ever beene taken in hand, when the reſt of the realme (or at leaſt the parts adjoyning) had ben quiet, as the honourable gent. that now governeth there (I meane Sir William Ruſſell) gave a notable attempt thereunto,[1] and had worthily performed it, if his courſe had not beene croſſed unhappily, he could not have ſtood 3. moneths, nor ever have looked up againſt a very meane power: but now all the parts about him being up in a madding moode, as the Moores in Leix, the Cavenaghes in the county of Wexford, and ſome of the Butlers in the county of Kilkenny, they all flocke unto him, and drawe into his countrey, as to a ſtrong hould where they thinke to be ſafe from all that proſecute them: And from thence they doe at their pleaſures breake out into all the borders adjoyning, which are well peopled countryes, as the counties of Dublin, of Kildare, of Catherlagh, of Kilkenny, of Wexford, with the ſpoiles whereof they victuall and ſtrengthen themſelves, which otherwiſe ſhould in ſhort time be ſtarved, and ſore pined; ſo that what he is of himſelfe you may hereby perceive.

Eudox. Then, by ſo much as I gather out of your ſpeech, the next way to end the warres with him, and to roote him out quite, ſhould be to keepe him from invading of thoſe countryes adjoyning, which (as I ſuppoſe) is to be done, either by drawing all the inhabitants of thoſe next borders away, and leaving them utterly waſte, or by planting garriſons upon all thoſe frontiers about him, that, when he ſhall breake forth, may ſet upon him and ſhorten his returne.

Iren. You conceive very rightly, Eudoxus, but that for the diſpeopling and driving away all the inhabitants from the countrey about him, which you ſpeake of, ſhould bee a great confuſion and trouble, aſwell for the unwilling-

[1] *gave a notable attempt thereunto.*] Vide Camdeni Annales, ſub finem anni 1594. SIR JAMES WARE.

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neſſe of them to leave their poſſeſſions, as alſo for placing and providing for them in other countryes, (me thinkes) the better courſe ſhould be by planting of garriſons about him, which, whenſoever he ſhall looke forth, or be drawne out with the deſire of the ſpoyle of thoſe borders, or for neceſſity of victuall, ſhall be alwayes ready to intercept his going or comming.

Eudox. Where then doe you wiſh thoſe garriſons to be planted that they may ſerve beſt againſt him; and how many in every garriſon?

Iren. I my ſelfe, by reaſon that (as I told you) I am no martiall man, will not take upon me to direct ſo dangerous affaires, but onely as I underſtood by the purpoſes and plots, which the Lord Gray who was well experienced in that ſervice, againſt him did lay downe: to the performance whereof he onely required 1000. men to be laid in 6. garriſons; that is, at Ballinecor 200. footemen and 50. horſemen, which ſhould ſhut him out of his great glynne, whereto he ſo much truſteth; at Knockelough 200. footemen and 50. horſemen, to anſwere the county of Catherlagh; at Arclo or Wicklow 200. footemen and 50. horſemen to defend all that ſide towards the ſea; in Shillelagh 100. footemen which ſhould cut him from the Cavanaghes, and the county of Wexford; and about the three caſtles 50. horſemen, which ſhould defend all the county of Dublin; and 100. footemen at Talbots Towne, which ſhould keepe him from breaking out into the county of Kildare, and be alwayes on his necke on that ſide: The which garriſons, ſo laide, will ſo buſie him, that he ſhall never reſt at home, nor ſtirre forth abroad but he ſhall be had; as for his creete they cannot be above ground, but they muſt needes fall into their hands or ſtarve, for he hath no faſtnes nor refuge for them. And as for his partakers of the Moores, Butlers, and Cavanaghes, they will ſoone leave him, when they ſee his faſtnes and ſtrong places thus taken from him.

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Eudox. Surely this ſeemeth a plot of great reaſon, and ſmall difficulty, which promiſeth hope of a ſhort end. But what ſpeciall directions will you ſet downe for the ſervices and riſings out of theſe garriſons?

Iren. None other then the preſent occaſions ſhall miniſter unto them, and as by good eſpialls, whereof there they cannot want ſtore, they ſhall be drawne continually upon him, ſo as one of them ſhall be ſtill upon him, and ſometimes all at one inſtant bayting him. And this (I aſſure my ſelfe) will demaund no long time, but will be all finiſhed in the ſpace of one yeare; which how ſmall a thing it is, unto the eternall quietneſſe which ſhall thereby be purchaſed to that realme, and the great good which ſhould growe to her Majeſty, ſhould (me thinkes) readily drawe on her Highneſſe to the undertaking of the enterpriſe.

Eudox. You have very well (me thinkes), Irenæus, plotted a courſe for the atchieving of thoſe warres now in Ireland, which ſeemes to aſk no long time, nor great charge, ſo as the effecting thereof bee committed to men of ſure truſt, and ſound experience, aſwell in that country as in the manner of thoſe ſervices; for if it bee left in the hands of ſuch rawe captaines as are uſually ſent out of England, being thereunto onely preferred by friendſhip, and not choſen by ſufficiency, it will ſoone fall to the ground.

Iren. Therefore it were meete (me thinkes) that ſuch captaines onely were thereunto employed, as have formerly ſerved in that country, and been at leaſt lieutenants unto other captaines there. For otherwiſe, being brought and transferred from other ſervices abroad, as in France, in Spain, and in the Low-countryes, though they be of good experience in thoſe, and have never ſo well deſerved, yet in theſe they will be new to ſeeke, and, before they have gathered experience, they ſhall buy it with great loſſe to her Majeſty, either by hazarding of their companies,

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through ignorance of the places, and manner of the Iriſh ſervices, or by looſing a great part of the time which is required hereunto, being but ſhort, in which it might be finiſhed, almoſt before they have taken out a new leſſon, or can tell what is to be done.

Eudox. You are no good friend to new captaines it ſeemes, Iren., that you barre them from the credit of this ſervice: but (to ſay truth) me thinkes it were meete, that any one, before he came to be a captaine, ſhould have beene a ſouldiour; for, "Parere qui neſcit, neſcit imperare." And beſides, there is great wrong done to the old ſouldiour, from whom all meanes of advancement which is due unto him is cut off by ſhuffling in theſe new cutting captaines into the place for which he hath long ſerved, and perhaps better deſerved. But now that you have thus (as I ſuppoſe) finiſhed all the warre, and brought all things to that low ebbe which you ſpeake of, what courſe will you take for the bringing in of that reformation which you intend, and recovering all things from this deſolate eſtate, in which (mee thinkes) I behold them now left, unto that perfect eſtabliſhment and new commonwealth which you have conceived of, by which ſo great good may redound unto her Majeſty, and an aſſured peace bee confirmed? for that is it whereunto wee are now to looke, and doe greatly long for, being long ſithence made weary with the huge charge which you have laide upon us, and with the ſtrong indurance of ſo many complaints, ſo many delayes, ſo many doubts and dangers, as will hereof (I know well) ariſe: unto the which before wee come, it were meete (me thinkes) that you ſhould take ſome order for the ſouldiour, which is now firſt to bee diſcharged and diſpoſed of, ſome way; the which if you doe not well fore-ſee, may growe to as great inconvenience as all this that I ſuppoſe you have quit us from, by the looſe leaving of ſo many thouſand ſouldiours, which from

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thence forth will be unfit for any labour or other trade, but muſt either ſeeke ſervice and imployment abroad, which may be dangerous, or elſe imploy themſelves heere at home, as may bee diſcommodious.

Iren. You ſay very true; and it is a thing much miſlyked in this our common-wealth that no better courſe is taken for ſuch as have been imployed in ſervice, but that returning, whether maymed and ſo unable to labour, or otherwiſe whole and ſound, yet afterwards unwilling to worke, or rather willing to ſet the hang-man on work. But that needeth another conſideration; but to this which wee have now in hand, it is farre from my meaning to leave the ſouldiour ſo at randome, or to leave that waſte realme ſo weake and deſtitute of ſtrength, which may both defend it againſt others that might ſeeke then to ſet upon it, and alſo keepe it from that relapſe which I before did fore-caſt. For it is one ſpeciall good of this plot which I would deviſe, that 6000. ſouldiers of theſe whom I have now imployed in this ſervice, and made throughly acquainted both with the ſtate of the countrey, and manners of the people, ſhould henceforth bee ſtill continued, and for ever maintayned of the countrey, without any charge to her Majeſtie; and the reſt that are either olde, and unable to ſerve any longer, or willing to fall to thrift, as I have ſeene many ſouldiers after the ſervice to prove very good huſbands, ſhould bee placed in part of the landes by them wonne, at ſuch rate, or rather better then others, to whome the ſame ſhall be ſet out.

Eudox. Is it poſſible, Irenæus? can there be any ſuch meanes deviſed, that ſo many men ſhould be kept ſtill in her Majeſties ſervice without any charge to her at all? Surely this were an exceeding great good, both to her Highnes to have ſo many olde ſouldiers alwayes ready at call, to what purpoſe ſoever ſhe liſt to imploy them, and alſo to have that land thereby ſo ſtrengthned, that it ſhall

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neither feare any forraine invaſion, nor practiſe, which the Iriſh ſhall ever attempt, but ſhall keepe them under in continuall awe and firme obedience.

Iren. It is ſo indeed. And yet this truely I doe not take to be any matter of great difficultie, as I thinke it will alſo ſoone appeare unto you. And firſt we will ſpeake of the North part, for that the ſame is of more weight and importance. So ſoone as it ſhall appeare that the enemy is brought downe, and the ſtout rebell either cut off, or driven to that wretchedneſſe that hee is no longer able to holde up his head, but will come in to any conditions, which I aſſure my ſelfe will bee before the end of the ſecond Winter, I wiſh that there bee a generall proclamation made, that whatſoever out-lawes will freely come in, and ſubmit themſelves to her Majeſties mercy, ſhall have liberty ſo to doe, where they ſhall either finde that grace they deſire, or have leave to returne againe in ſafety: upon which it is likely that ſo many as ſurvive will come in to ſue for grace, of which who ſo are thought meet for ſubjection, and fit to be brought to good, may be received, or elſe all of them, (for I thinke that all wilbe but a very few;) upon condition and aſſurance that they will ſubmit themſelves abſolutely to her Majeſties ordinance for them, by which they ſhall be aſſured of life and libertie, and be onely tyed to ſuch conditions as ſhall bee thought by her meet for containing them ever after in due obedience. To the which conditions I nothing doubt but they will all moſt readily, and upon their knees ſubmit themſelves, by the proofe of that which I have ſeene in Mounſter. For upon the like proclamation there, they all came in both tagg and ragg, and when as afterwardes many of them were denyed to be received, they bade them doe with them what they would, for they would not by any meanes returne againe, nor goe forth. For in that caſe who will

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not accept almoſt of any conditions, rather than dye of hunger and miſerie?

Eudox. It is very likely ſo. But what then is the ordinance, and what bee the conditions which you will propoſe unto them, which ſhall reſerve unto them an aſſurance of life and liberty?

Iren. So ſoone then as they have given the beſt aſſurance of themſelves which may be required, which muſt be (I ſuppoſe) ſome of their principall men to remaine in hoſtage one for another, and ſome other for the reſt, for other ſurety I reckon of none that may binde them, neither of wife, nor of children, ſince then perhappes they would gladly be ridde of both from the famine; I would have them firſt unarmed utterly, and ſtripped quite of all their warrelike weapons, and then, theſe conditions ſet downe and made knowne unto them; that they ſhall bee placed in Leinſter, and have land given them to occupy and to live upon, in ſuch ſort as ſhall become good ſubjects, to labour thenceforth for their living, and to apply themſelves to honeſt trades of civility as they ſhall every one be found meete and able for.

Eudox. Where then, a Gods name, will you place them in Leinſter? or will you finde out any new land there for them that is yet unknowne?

Iren. No, I will place them all in the countrey of the Birnes and Tooles, which Pheagh Mac Hugh hath, and in all the lands of the Cavanaghes, which are now in rebellion, and all the lands which will fall to her Majeſtie there-abouts, which I know to be very ſpacious and large enough to containe them, being very neere twenty or thirty miles wyde.[k]

[k] *very neere twenty or thirty miles wyde.*] This carrieth no fit proportion for the tranſplantation intended by the author, conſidering the large extent of Ulſter, and the narrow bounds heere limited. SIR JAMES WARE.

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Eudox. But then what will you doe with all the Birnes, the Tooles, and the Cavanaghes, and all thoſe that now are ſoyned with them?

Iren. At the ſame very time, and in the ſame very manner that I make that proclamation to them of Ulſter, will I have it alſo made to theſe; and upon their ſubmiſſion thereunto, I will take like aſſurance of them as of the other. After which I will tranſlate all that remaine of them unto the places of the other in Ulſter, with all their creete, and what elſe they have left them, the which I will cauſe to be divided amongſt them in ſome meete ſort, as each may thereby have ſomewhat to ſuſtaine himſelfe a while withall, untill, by his further travaile and labour of the earth, he ſhalbe able to provide himſelfe better.

Eudox. But will you give the land then freely unto them, and make them heires of the former rebells? ſo may you perhaps make them alſo heires of all their former villainies and diſorders; or how elſe will you diſpoſe of them?

Iren. Not ſo; but all the lands will I give unto Engliſhmen whom I will have drawne thither, who ſhall have the ſame with ſuch eſtates as ſhall bee thought meete, and for ſuch rent as ſhall eſt-ſoones bee rated: under every of thoſe Engliſhmen will I place ſome of thoſe Iriſh to bee tennants for a certaine rent, according to the quantity of ſuch land, as every man ſhall have allotted unto him, and ſhalbe found able to wield, wherein this ſpeciall regard ſhall be had, that in no place under any land-lord there ſhall bee many of them placed together, but diſperſed wide from their acquaintance, and ſcattered farre abroad thorough all the country: For that is the evill which now I finde in all Ireland, that the Iriſh dwell altogether by their ſepts, and ſeverall nations, ſo as they may practiſe or conſpire what they will; whereas if there were Engliſh well placed among them, they ſhould

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not bee able once to ſtirre or to murmure, but that it ſhould be knowne, and they ſhortened according to their demerites.

Eudox. You have good reaſon; but what rating of rents meane you? to what end doe you purpoſe the ſame?

Iren. My purpoſe is to rate the rent of all thoſe lands of her Majeſtie in ſuch ſort, unto thoſe Engliſhmen which ſhall take them, as they ſhall be well able to live thereupon, to yeeld her Majeſty reaſonable chiefrie,[1] and alſo give a competent maintenance unto the garriſons, which ſhall be there left amongſt them; for thoſe ſouldiours (as I tolde you) remaining of the former garriſons I caſt to maintaine upon the rent of thoſe landes which ſhall bee eſcheated, and to have them divided thorough all Ireland in ſuch places as ſhalbe thought moſt convenient, and occaſion may require. And this was the courſe which the Romanes obſerved in the conqueſt of England, for they planted ſome of their legions in all places convenient, the which they cauſed the countrey to maintaine, cutting upon every portion of land a reaſonable rent, which they called Romeſcot, the which might not ſurcharge the tennant or free-holder, and might defray the pay of the garriſon: and this hath beene alwayes obſerved by all princes in all countries to them newly ſubdued, to ſet garriſons amongſt them to containe them in dutie whoſe burthen they made them to beare; and the want of this ordinance, in the firſt conqueſt of Ireland by Henry the Second, was the cauſe of the ſo ſhort decay of that government, and the quicke recovery againe of the Iriſh. Therefore by all meanes it is to bee provided for. And this is that I would blame, if it ſhould not miſbecome mee, in the

[1] *to yeeld her Majeſty reaſonable chiefrie.*] *Chiefrie* is a ſmall rent paid to the Lord paramount. JOHNSON.

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late planting of Mounſter, that no care was had of this ordinance, nor any ſtrength of garriſon provided for, by a certaine allowance out of all the ſaide landes, but onely the preſent profite looked into, and the ſafe continuance thereof for ever hereafter neglected.

Eudox. But there is a band of ſouldiours layde in Mounſter, to the maintenance of which, what oddes is there whether the Queene, receiving the rent of the countrey, doe give pay at her pleaſure, or that there be a ſetled allowance appointed unto them out of her lands there?

Iren. There is great oddes, for now that ſaid rent of the countrey is not appointed to the pay of the ſouldiers, but it is, by every other occaſion comming betweene, converted to other uſes, and the ſouldiours in time of peace diſcharged and neglected as unneceſſary; whereas if the ſaid rent were appointed and ordained by an eſtabliſhment to this end onely, it ſhould not bee turned to any other; nor in troublous times, upon every occaſion, her Majeſtie bee ſo troubled with ſending over new ſouldiours as ſhee is now, nor the countrie ever ſhould dare to mutinie, having ſtill the ſouldiour in their neck, nor any forraine enemy dare to invade, knowing there ſo ſtrong and great a garriſon allwayes ready to receive them.

Eudox. Sith then you thinke that this Romeſcot of the pay of the ſouldiours upon the land to be both the readieſt way to the ſouldiours, and leaſt troubleſome to her Majeſtie, tell us (I pray you) how would you have the ſaid lands rated, that both a rent may riſe thereout unto the Queene, and alſo the ſouldiours receive pay, which (me thinkes) wilbe hard?

Iren. Firſt we are to conſider how much land there is in all Ulſter, that according to the quantity thereof we may ceſſe the ſaid rent and allowance iſſuing thereout. Ulſter (as the ancient records of that realme doe teſtifie)

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doth containe 9000. plow-lands, every of which plow-lands containeth 120. acres, after the rate of 21. foote to every perch of the acre, every of which plow-lands I will rate at 40s. by the yeare; the which yearely rent amounteth in the whole to 18000l. beſides 6s. 8d. chiefrie out of every plow-land. But becauſe the countie of Louth, being a part of Ulſter, and containing in it 712. plow-lands, is not wholly to eſcheate to her Majeſtie as the reſt, they having in all their warres continued for the moſt part dutifull, though otherwiſe a great part thereof is now under the rebells, there is an abatement to be made thereout of 400. or 500. plow-lands, as I eſtimate the ſame, the which are not to pay the whole yearly rent of 40s. out of every plow-land, like as the eſcheated lands doe, but yet ſhall pay for their compoſition of ceſſe towards the keeping of ſoldiers 20s. out of every plow-land: ſo as there is to bee deducted out of the former ſumme 200 or 300l. yearly, the which may nevertheleſſe be ſupplied by the rent of the fiſhings, which are exceeding great in Ulſter, and alſo by an increaſe of rent in the beſt lands, and thoſe that lye in the beſt places neere the ſea-coaſt. The which eighteen thouſand pounds will defray the entertainment of 1500. ſouldiers, with ſome overplus towardes the pay of the victuallers which are to bee imployed in the victualling of theſe garriſons.

Eudox. So then, belike you meane to leave 1500. ſouldiers in garriſon for Ulſter, to bee payde principally out of the rent of thoſe lands which ſhall be there eſcheated unto her Majeſtie. The which, where (I pray you) will you have them garriſoned?

Iren. I will have them divided into three parts; that is, 500. in every garriſon, the which I will have to remaine in three of the ſame places where they were before appointed; to wit, 500. at Strabane and about Loughfoile, ſo as they may holde all the paſſages of that part of the

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countrey, and ſome of them bee put in wardes, upon all the ſtraights thereabouts, which I know to be ſuch, as may ſtoppe all paſſages into the countrey on that ſide; and ſome of them alſo upon the Ban, up towardes Lough-Sidney, as I formerly directed. Alſo other 500 at the fort upon Lough-Earne, and wardes taken out of them which ſhall bee layde at Fermannagh, at Bealick, at Ballyſhannon, and all the ſtreights towardes Connaght, the which I know doe ſo ſtrongly command all the paſſages that way as that none can paſſe from Ulſter into Connaght, without their leave. The laſt 500. ſhall alſo remaine in their fort at Monoghan, and ſome of them bee drawne into wardes, to keepe the kaies of all that countrey, both downwards, and alſo towardes O Relies countrie, and the pale; and ſome at Eniſkillin, ſome at Belturbut, ſome at the Blacke Fort, and ſo along that river, as I formerly ſhewed in the firſt planting of them. And moreover at every of theſe forts I would have the ſeate of a towne layde forth and incompaſſed, in the which I would wiſh that there ſhould inhabitants of all ſortes, as merchants, artificers, and huſbandmen, bee placed, to whom there ſhould charters and fraunchiſes be graunted to incorporate them. The which, as it wilbe no matter of difficultie to draw out of England perſons which would very gladly be ſo placed, ſo would it in ſhort ſpace turne thoſe parts to great commodity, and bring ere long to her Majeſtie much profit; for thoſe places are fit for trade and trafficke, having moſt convenient out-gates by divers to the ſea, and in-gates to the richeſt parts of the land, that they would ſoone be enriched, and mightily enlarged, for the very ſeating of the garriſons by them: beſides, the ſafetie and aſſurance which they ſhall worke unto them will alſo draw thither ſtore of people and trade, as I have ſeene enſample at Mariborogh and Philipſtowne in Leinſter, where by reaſon of theſe two fortes,

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though there be but ſmall wardes left in them, there are two good townes now growne, which are the greateſt ſtay of both thoſe two countries.

Eudox. Indeed (me thinkes) three ſuch townes, as you ſay, would do very well in thoſe places with the garriſons, and in ſhort ſpace would be ſo augmented, as they would bee able with little to in-wall themſelves ſtrongly: but, for the planting of all the reſt of the countrey, what order would you take?

Iren. What other then (as I ſaid) to bring people out of England, which ſhould inhabite the ſame; whereunto though, I doubt not, but great troopes would be readie to runne, yet for that in ſuch caſes, the worſt and moſt decayed men are moſt ready to remove, I would wiſh them rather to bee choſen out of all partes of this realme, either by diſcretion of wiſe men thereunto appointed, or by lot, or by the drumme, as was the old uſe in ſending forth of Colonies, or ſuch other good meanes as ſhall in their wiſedome bee thought meeteſt. Amongſt the chiefe of which I would have the land ſett into ſeigniories, in ſuch ſort as it is now in Mounſter, and divided into hundreds and pariſhes, or wardes, as it is in England, and layde out into ſhires as it was aunciently; *viz.* the countie of Downe, the countie of Antrim, the countie of Louth, the countie of Armaghe, the countie of Cavan, the countie of Colerane, the countie of Monoghan,[m] the countie of Tyrone, the countie of Fermannagh, the countie of Donnegall, being in all tenne. Over all which I wiſh a Lord Preſident and a Councell to bee placed, which may keepe them afterwards in awe and obedience, and miniſter unto them juſtice and equity.

Eudox. Thus I ſee the whole purpoſe of your plot for

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[m] *the countie of Monoghan.*] This is now part of the county of London-derry. Sir James Ware.

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Ulſter, and now I deſire to heare your like opinion for Connaght.

Iren. By that which I have already ſaid of Ulſter you may gather my opinion for Connaght, being very anſwereable to the former. But for that the lands, which ſhal therein eſcheat unto her Majeſty, are not ſo intirely together as that they can be accompted in one ſumme, it needeth that they be conſidered ſeverally. The province of Connaght in the whole containeth (as appeareth by the Records of Dublin) 7200 plow-lands of the former meaſure, and is of late divided into ſix ſhires or counties: the countie of Clare,[n] the countie of Leytrim, the countie of Roſcoman, the countie of Galway, the countie of Maio, and the countie of Sligo. Of the which, all the countie of Sligo, all the countie of Maio, the moſt part of the countie of Roſcoman, the moſt part of the countie of Letrim, a great part of the countie of Galway, and ſome of the countie of Clare, is like to eſcheat to her Majeſtie for the rebellion of their preſent poſſeſſors. The which two counties of Sligo and Maio are ſuppoſed to containe almoſt 3000. plow-lands, the rent whereof, rateably to the former, I valew almoſt at 6000 l. *per annum.* The countie of Roſcoman, ſaving that which pertaineth to the houſe of Roſcoman and ſome few other Engliſh there lately ſeated, is all one, and therefore it is wholly likewiſe to eſcheate to her Majeſty, ſaving thoſe portions of Engliſh inhabitants; and even thoſe Engliſh doe (as I underſtand by them) pay as much rent to her Majeſty as is ſet upon thoſe in Ulſter, counting their compoſition money therewithall, ſo as it may all run into

[n] *the countie of Clare.*] The county of Clare was anciently accounted part of the province of Mounſter, whence it hath the name of Tuobmuan, or Thomond, which ſignifieth North Mounſter, and hath at this day its peculiar governour, as being exempted from the preſidences of Mounſter and Connaght. SIR JAMES WARE.

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one reckoning with the former two counties: So that this county of Roſcoman, containing 1200. plow-lands, as it is accompted, amounteth to 2400 li. by the yeare, which with the former two counties rent maketh about 8300 l. for the former wanted ſomewhat. But what the eſcheated lands of the county of Gallway and Letrim will riſe unto is yet uncertaine to define, till ſurvey thereof be made, for that thoſe lands are intermingled with the Earle of Clanricardes, and others lands; but it is thought they be the one halfe of both thoſe counties, ſo as they may be counted to the value of one whole county, which containeth above 1000. plough-lands; for ſo many the leaſt county of them all comprehendeth, which maketh 2000 li. more, that is, in all, ten or eleven thouſand pounds. The other 2 counties muſt remaine till their eſcheates appeare, the which letting paſſe yet, as unknowne, yet this much is knowne to be accompted for certaine, that the compoſition of theſe two counties, being rated at 20. ſhil. every plow-land, will amount to above 2000 pounds more: all which being laide together to the former, may be reaſonably eſtimated to riſe unto 13000 pounds, the which ſumme, together with the rent of the eſcheated lands in the two laſt countyes, which cannot yet be valued, being, as I doubt not, no leſſe then a thouſand pounds more, will yeeld pay largely unto 1000 men and their victuallers, and 1000 pounds over towards the Governour.

Eudox. You have (me thinkes) made but an eſtimate of thoſe lands of Connaght even at a very venture, ſo as it ſhould be hard to build any certainty of charge to be raiſed upon the ſame.

Iren. Not altogether upon uncertainties; for this much may eaſily appeare unto you to be certaine, as the compoſition money of every plowland amounteth unto; for this I would have you principally to underſtand, that my

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purpoſe is to rate all the lands in Ireland at 20 ſhil: every plowland, for their compoſition towards the garriſon. The which I know, in regard of being freed from all other charges whatſoever, will be readily and moſt gladly yeelded unto. So that there being in all Ireland (as appeareth by their old Records) 43920 plowlands, the ſame ſhall amount to the ſumme likewiſe of 43920 pounds, and the reſt to be reared of the eſcheated lands which fall to her Majeſty in the ſaid provinces of Ulſter, Connaght, and that part of Leinſter under the rebells; for Mounſter wee deale not yet withall.

Eudox. But tell me this, by the way, doe you then lay compoſition upon the eſcheated lands as you doe upon the reſt? for ſo (mee thinkes) you reckon alltogether. And that ſure were too much to pay 7. nobles out of every plow land, and compoſition money beſides, that is 20 ſhil: out of every plow land.

Iren. No, you miſtake me; I doe put onely 7 nobles rent and compoſition both upon every plow land eſcheated, that is 40. ſhil: for compoſition, and 6 ſhil: 8. pence for cheifrie to her Majeſtie.

Eudox. I doe now conceive you; proceede then (I pray you) to the appointing of your garriſons in Connaght, and ſhew us both how many and where you would have them placed.

Iren. I would have 1000 laide in Connaght in 2 garriſons; namely, 500 in the county of Maio, about Clan Mac Coſtilagh, which ſhall keepe all Mayo and the Bourkes of Mac William Eighter: the other 500. in the county of Galway, about Garrandough, that they may containe the Conhors and the Bourkes there, the Kellies and Murries, with all them there-abouts; for that garriſon which I formerly placed at Loughearne will ſerve for all occaſions in the county of Sligo, being neere adjoyning thereunto, ſo as in one nights march they

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maye be almoſt in any place thereof when neede ſhall require them. And like as in the former places of garriſons in Ulſter, I wiſhed three corporate townes to be planted, which under the ſafeguard of that ſtrength ſhould dwell and trade ſafely with all the countrey about them, ſo would I alſo wiſh to be in this of Connaght; and that beſides, there were another eſtabliſhed at Athlone, with a convenient ward in the caſtle there for their defence.

Eudox. What ſhould that neede, ſeeing the Governour of Connaght uſeth to lye there alwayes, whoſe preſence will bee a defence to all that towneſhip?

Iren. I know he doth ſo, but that is much to be diſliked that the Governour ſhould lye ſo farre of, in the remoteſt place of all the province, whereas it were meeter that he ſhould be continually abiding in the middeſt of the charge, that he might bothe looke out alike unto all places of his government, and alſo be ſoone at hand in any place, where occaſion ſhall demand him; for the preſence of the Governour is (as you ſayd) a great ſtay and bridle unto thoſe that are ill diſpoſed: like as I ſee it is well obſerved in Mounſter, where the dayly good thereof is continually apparant: and, for this cauſe alſo doe I greatly miſlike the Lord Deputies ſeating at Dublin, being the outeſt corner of the realme, and leaſt needing the awe of his preſence; whereas (me thinkes) it were fitter, ſince his proper care is of Leinſter, though he have care of all beſides generally, that he ſhould ſeate himſelfe at Athie, or there-abouts, upon the ſkirt of that unquiet countrey, ſo that he might ſit, as it were, at the very maine maſte of his ſhip, whence he might eaſily over looke and ſometimes over-reach the Moores, the Dempſies, the Connors, O-Carroll, O-Molloy, and all that heape of Iriſh nations which there lye hudled together without any to over-awe them, or containe them

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in dutie. For the Iriſhman (I aſſure you) feares the Government no longer then he is within ſight or reach.

Eudox. Surely (me thinkes) herein you obſerve a matter of much importance, more then I have heard ever noted; but ſure that ſeemes ſo expedient, as that I wonder that heretofore it hath beene overſeene or omitted; but I ſuppoſe the inſtance of the citizens of Dublin is the greateſt lett thereof.

Iren. Truely, then it ought not ſo to be; for no cauſe have they to feare that it will be any hinderance to them; for Dublin will bee ſtill, as it is the key of all paſſages and tranſportations out of England thitherto, no leſſe profit of thoſe citizens then it now is, and beſides other places will hereby receive ſome benefit. But let us now (I pray you) come to Leinſter, in the which I would wiſh the ſame courſe to be obſerved that was in Ulſter.

Eudox. You meane for the leaving of the garriſons in their forts, and for planting of Engliſh in all thoſe countryes betweene the county of Dublin and the county of Wexford; but thoſe waſte wilde places, I thinke, when they are won unto her Majeſty, that there is none which will be haſty to ſeeke to inhabite.

Iren. Yes enough, (I warrant you;) for though the whole tracke of the countrey be mountanous and woody, yet there are many goodly valleyes amongſt them, fit for faire habitations, to which thoſe mountaines adjoyned will be a great increaſe of paſturage; for that countrey is a great ſoyle of cattle, and very fit for breed: as for corne it is nothing naturall, ſave onely for barly and oates, and ſome places for rye, and therefore the larger pennyworthes may be allowed to them, though otherwiſe the wildnes of the mountaine paſturage doe recompence the badnes of the ſoyle, ſo as I doubt not but it will find inhabitants and undertakers enough.

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Eudox. How much doe you thinke that all thoſe lands which Feagh Mac Hugh houldeth under him may amount unto, and what rent may be reared thereout to the maintenance of the garriſons that ſhall be laide there?

Iren. Truely, it is impoſſible by ayme to tell it, and for experience and knowledge thereof I doe not thinke that there was every any of the particulars thereof, but yet I will (if it pleaſe you) gueſſe thereat, upon ground onely of their judgement which have formerly devided all that country into 2 ſheires or countyes, namely the countie of Wicklow, and the county of Fernes:° the which 2 I ſee no cauſe but that they ſhould wholly eſcheate to her Majeſty, all ſave the barony of Arclo which is the Earle of Ormond's auncient inheritance, and hath ever been in his poſſeſſion; for all the whole land is the Queenes, unleſſe there be ſome grant of any part thereof to bee ſhewed from her Majeſty: as I thinke there is onely of New Caſtle to Sir Henry Harrington, and of the caſtle of Fernes to Sir Thomas Maſterſon, the reſt, being almoſt 30 miles over, I doe ſuppoſe can containe no leſſe then 2000 plowlands, which I will eſtimate at 4000. pounds rent, by the yeare. The reſt of Leinſter, being 7. counties, to wit, the county of Dublin, Kildare, Catherlagh, Wexford, Kilkenny, the Kings and the Queenes county, doe contain in them 7400. plowlands, which amounteth to ſo many pounds for compoſition to the garriſon, that makes in the whole 11400. pounds, which ſumme will yeeld pay unto 1000 ſouldiours, little wanting, which may be ſupplied out of other lands of the Cavenaghes, which are to be eſcheated to her Majeſty for the rebellion of their poſſeſſors, though otherwiſe indeede they bee of her owne ancient demeſne.

° *county of Fernes.*] This is part of the county of Wexford. SIR JAMES WARE.

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Eudox. It is great reaſon. But tell us now where you will wiſh thoſe garriſons to be laide, whether altogether, or to bee diſperſed in ſundry places of the country?

Iren. Marry, in ſundry places, *viz.* in this ſort, or much the like as may be better adviſed, for 200. in a place I doe thinke to bee enough for the ſafeguard of that country, and keeping under all ſuddaine upſtarts, that ſhall ſeeke to trouble the peace thereof: therefore I wiſh 200. to be laide at Ballinecor for the keeping of all bad perſons from Glan-malor, and all the faſtnes thereabouts, and alſo to containe all that ſhall be planted in thoſe lands thenceforth. Another 200. at Knockelough in their former place of garriſon, to keepe the Bracknagh and all thoſe mountaines of the Cavenaghes; 200. more to lie at Fernes, and upwards, inward upon the Slane; 200. to be placed at the fort of Leix, to reſtraine the Moores, Upper-Oſſory, and O-Carrol; other 200. at the fort of Ofaly, to curbe the O-Connors, O-Molloyes, Mac-Coghlan, Mageoghegan, and all thoſe Iriſh nations bordering there-abouts.

Eudox. Thus I ſee all your men beſtowed in Leinſter: what ſay you then of Meath?

Iren. Meath, which containeth both Eaſt Meath and Weſt Meath, and of late the Annaly now called the county of Longford, is counted therunto: But Meath it ſelfe, according to the old Records, containeth 4320. plowlands, and the county of Longford 947., which in the whole makes 5267 plowlands, of which the compoſition money will amount likewiſe to 5267 pounds to the maintenance of the garriſon. But becauſe all Meath, lying in the boſome of that kingdome, is alwayes quiet enough, it is needeleſſe to put any garriſon there, ſo as all that charge may be ſpared. But in the county of Longford I wiſh 200. footmen and 50. horſemen to bee

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placed in ſome convenient ſeate betweene the Annaly and the Breny, as about Lough Sillon, or ſome like place of that river, ſo as they might keepe both the O-Relies, and alſo the O-Ferrals, and all that out-ſkirt of Meath in awe; the which uſe upon every light occaſion to be ſtirring, and, having continuall enmity amongſt themſelves, doe thereby oftentimes trouble all thoſe parts, the charge whereof being 3400. and odde pounds is to be cut out of that compoſition money for Meath and Longford, the over-plus, being almoſt 2000. pounds by the yeare, will come in clearly to her Majeſty.

Eudox. It is worth the hearkening unto. But now that you have done with Meath, proceede (I pray you) to Mounſter, that wee may ſee how it will riſe there for the maintenance of the garriſon.

Iren. Mounſter containeth by Record at Dublin 16000. plow-lands, the compoſition whereof, as the reſt, will make 16000. pounds by the yeare, out of the which I would have 1000. ſouldiers to be maintained for the defence of that province, the charge whereof with the victuallers wages, will amount to 1200[0]. pounds by the yeare; the other 4000 pounds will defray the charge of the Preſidency and the Councel of that province.

Eudox. The reckoning is eaſie; but in this accompt, by your leave, (me thinkes) you are deceived, for in this ſumme of the compoſition money you accompt the lands of the undertakers of that province, who are, by their graunt from the Queene, to be free from all ſuch impoſitions whatſoever, excepting their onlie rent, which is ſurely enough.

Iren. You ſay true, I did ſo; but the ſame 20. ſhil. for every plowland I meant to have deducted out of that rent due upon them to her Majeſty, which is no hinderance, nor charge at all more to her Majeſty then it now is, for all that rent which ſhe receives of them, ſhee

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putteth forth againe to the maintenance of the Preſidency there, the charge whereof it doth ſcarcely defray; whereas in this accompt both that charge of the Preſidency, and alſo of a thouſand ſouldiours more, ſhall be maintained.

Eudox. It ſhould be well, if it could be brought to that. But now where will you have your thouſand men garriſoned?

Iren. I would have a hundred of them placed at the Bantry where is a moſt fit place, not onely to defend all that ſide of the weſt part from forraine invaſion, but alſo to anſwere all occaſions of troubles, to which that countrey, being ſo remote, is very ſubject. And ſurely there alſo would be planted a good towne, having both a good haven and a plentifull fiſhing, and the land being already eſcheated to her Majeſty, but being forcibly kept from her by one that proclaimes himſelfe the baſtard ſon of the Earle of Clancar, being called Donell Mac Carty, whom it is meete to foreſee to; for whenſoever the Earle ſhall die, all thoſe lands (after him) are to come unto her Majeſty: he is like to make a foule ſtirre there, though of himſelfe no power, yet through ſupportance of ſome others who lye in the wind, and looke after the fall of that inheritance. Another hundred I would have placed at Caſtle Mayne, which ſhould keepe all Deſmond and Kerry, for it anſwereth them both moſt conveniently: Alſo about Kilmore in the county of Corke would I have 2. hundred placed, the which ſhould breake that neſt of theives there, and anſwere equally both to the county of Limericke, and alſo the county of Corke: Another hundred would I have lye at Corke, aſwell to command the towne, as alſo to be ready for any forraine occaſion: Likewiſe at Waterford, would I place 2. hundred, for the ſame reaſons, and alſo for other privy cauſes, that are no leſſe important. Moreover on this ſide of Arlo, near

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to Muſkery Quirke, which is the countrey of the Burkes, about Kill-Patricke, I would have two hundred more to be garriſond, which ſhould ſkoure both the White Knights country and Arlo, and Muſkery Quirk, by which places all the paſſages of theives doe lye, which convey their ſtealth from all Mounſter downewards towards Tipperary, and the Engliſh Pale, and from the Engliſh Pale alſo up unto Mounſter, whereof they uſe to make a common trade. Beſides that, ere long I doubt that the county of Tipperary it ſelfe will neede ſuch a ſtrength in it, which were good to be there ready before the evill fall, that is dayly of ſome expected: And thus you ſee all your garriſons placed.

Eudox. I ſee it right well, but let me (I pray you) by the way aſke you the reaſon why in thoſe citties of Mounſter, namely Waterford and Corke, you rather placed gariſons then in all others in Ireland? For they may thinke themſelves to have great wrong to bee ſo charged above all the reſt.

Iren. I will tell you: thoſe two citties, above all the reſt, do offer an in-gate to the Spaniard moſt fitly; but yet, becauſe they ſhall not take exceptions to this that they are charged above all the reſt, I will alſo lay a charge upon the others likewiſe; for indeed it is no reaſon that the corporate townes, enjoying great franchizes and priviledges from her Majeſty, and living thereby not onely ſafe, but drawing to them the wealth of all the land, ſhould live ſo free as not to be partakers of the burthen of this garriſon for their owne ſafety, ſpecially in this time of trouble, and ſeeing all the reſt burthened; (and therefore) I will thus charge them all ratably, according to their abilities, towards their maintenance, the which her Majeſty may (if ſhe pleaſe) ſpare out of the charge of the reſt, and reſerve towards her other coſtes, or elſe adde to the charge of the Preſidency in the North.

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Waterford	C.	Clonmell	X.	Dundalke	X.
Corke	L.	Caſhell	X.	Mollingare	X.
Limericke	L.	Fedard	X.	Newrie	X.
Galway	L.	Kilkenny	XXV.	Trim	X.
Dinglecuſh	X.	Wexford	XXV.	Ardee	X.
Kinſale	X.	Tredah	XXV.	Kells	X.
Yoghall	X.	Roſs	XXV.	Dublin	C.
Kilmallock	X.				

In all 580.

Eudox. It is eaſie, Irenæus, to lay a charge upon any towne, but to foreſee how the ſame may be anſwered and defrayed is the cheife part of good adviſement.

Iren. Surely this charge which I put upon them I know to bee ſo reaſonable as that it will not much be felt; for the port townes that have benefit of ſhipping may cut it eaſily off their trading, and inland townes of their corne and cattle: neither do I ſee, but ſince to them eſpecially the benefit of peace doth redound, that they eſpecially ſhould beare the burthen of their ſafeguard and defence, as wee ſee all the townes of the Low-Countryes doe cut upon themſelves an exciſe of all things towards the maintenance of the warre that is made in their behalfe, to which though theſe are not to be compared in richeſſe, yet are they to bee charged according to their povertie.

Eudox. But now that you have thus ſet up theſe forces of ſoldiers, and provided well (as you ſuppoſe) for their pay, yet there remaineth to fore-caſt how they may bee victualled, and where purveyance thereof may bee made; for in Ireland it ſelfe I cannot ſee almoſt how any thing is to bee had for them, being already ſo pitifully waſted as it is with this ſhort time of warre.

Iren. For the firſt two yeares it is needefull indeede that they bee victualled out of England thoroughly, from halfe yeare to halfe yeare, aforehand. All which time the Engliſh Pale ſhall not be burdened at all, but ſhall have time to

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recover themſelves; and Mounſter alſo, being reaſonably well ſtored, will by that time, (if God ſend ſeaſonable weather) bee thoroughly well furniſhed to ſupply a great part of that charge, for I knowe there is a great plenty of corne ſent over ſea from thence, the which if they might have ſale for at home, they would bee glad to have money ſo neere hand, ſpecially if they were ſtreightly reſtrayned from tranſporting of it. Thereunto alſo there will bee a great helpe and furtherance given in the putting forward of huſbandrie in all meete places, as heereafter ſhall in due place appeare. But heereafter, when things ſhall growe unto a better ſtrength, and the countrey be repleniſhed with corne, as in ſhort ſpace it will if it bee well followed, for the countrey people themſelves are great plowers, and ſmall ſpenders of corne, then would I wiſh that there ſhould bee good ſtore of houſes and magazins erected in all thoſe great places of garriſon, and in all great townes, as well for the victualling of ſouldiers and ſhippes, as for all occaſions of ſuddaine ſervices, as alſo for preventing of all times of dearth and ſcarcitie: and this want is much to bee complained of in England above all other countreys, who, truſting too much to the uſuall bleſſing of the earth, doe never fore-caſt any ſuch hard ſeaſons, nor any ſuch ſuddaine occaſions as theſe troublous times may every day bring foorth, when it will bee too late to gather proviſion from abroad, and to bringe it perhappes from farre for the furniſhing of ſhippes or ſouldiers, which peradventure may neede to bee preſently imployed, and whoſe want may (which God forbid) hap to hazard a kingdome.

Eudox. Indeede the want of thoſe magazins of victualls, I have oftentimes complayned of in England, and wondered at in other countreyes, but that is nothing now to our purpoſe; but as for theſe garriſons which you have now ſo ſtrongly planted throghout all Ireland, and every

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place ſwarming with ſouldiers, ſhall there bee no end of them? For now thus being (me thinkes) I doe ſee rather a countrey of warre then of peace and quiet, which you earſt pretended to worke in Ireland; for if you bring all things to that quietneſſe that you ſaid, what then needeth to maintaine ſo great forces as you have charged upon it?

Iren. I will unto you, Eudox., in privitie diſcover the drift of my purpoſe: I meane (as I tolde you) and doe well hope thereby both to ſettle an eternall peace in that countrey, and alſo to make it very profitable to her Majeſtie, the which I ſee muſt bee brought in with a ſtrong hand, and ſo continued, till it runne in a ſteadfaſt courſe of governement, which in this ſort will neither bee difficult nor dangerous; for the ſouldier being once brought in for the ſervice into Ulſter, and having ſubdued it and Connaght, I will not have him to lay downe his armes any more, till hee have effected that which I purpoſe; that is, firſt to have this generall compoſition for maintenance of theſe thoroughout all the realme, in regard of the troublous times, and daylie danger which is threatned to this realme by the King of Spaine: And thereupon to beſtow all my ſouldiers in ſuch ſort as I have done, that no part of all that realme ſhall be able to dare to quinch.[p] Then will I eftſoones bring in my reformation, and thereupon eſtabliſh ſuch a forme of governement as I may thinke meeteſt for the good of that realme, which being once ſettled, and all things put into a right way, I doubt

[p] *to dare to quinch.*] To "quinch" means here to *move* or *ſtir*, and as Richardſon, quoting this paſſage from Spenſer, tells us, it is probably the ſame word as *wince*. It is alſo met with in North's "Plutarch;" but the reference given by Richardſon muſt be an error, if he copied from the firſt edition of that old tranſlation in 1579, folio. We have not met with it in any other author; but Stephen Goſſon ſeems to uſe *queatche* either for "quinch" (i. e. ſtir) or for *ſqueak*:—"They ſhall lacke cuſtomers all the weeke, either becauſe their haunt is unknowen, or the conſtable and officers of their pariſh watche them ſo narrowly that they dare not *queatche*, &c. "School of Abuſe," 1579, fo. 18. C.

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not but they will runne on fairely. And though they would ever ſeeke to ſwerve aſide, yet ſhall they not bee able without forreine violence once to remoove, as you your ſelfe ſhall ſoone (I hope) in your own reaſon readily conceive; which if it ſhall ever appeare, then may her Majeſtie at pleaſure with-draw ſome of the garriſons, and turne their pay into her purſe, or if ſhee will never pleaſe ſo to doe (which I would rather wiſh), then ſhall ſhee have a number of brave olde ſouldiers always ready for any occaſion that ſhee will imploy them unto, ſupplying their garriſons with freſh ones in their ſteed; the maintenance of whome ſhall bee no more charge to her Majeſtie then now that realme is; for all the revenue thereof, and much more, ſhee ſpendeth, even in the moſt peaceable times that are there, as things now ſtand. And in time of warre, which is now ſurely every ſeventh yeare, ſhee ſpendeth infinite treaſure beſides to ſmall purpoſe.

Eudox. I perceive your purpoſe; but now that you have thus ſtrongly made way unto your reformation, and that I ſee the people ſo humbled and prepared that they will and muſt yeeld to any ordinance that ſhall bee given them, I doe much deſire to underſtand the ſame; for in the beginning you promiſed to ſhewe a meanes how to redreſſe all thoſe inconveniences and abuſes, which you ſhewed to bee in that ſtate of government, which now ſtands there, as in the lawes, cuſtoms, and religion: wherein I would gladly know firſt, whether, in ſteed of thoſe lawes, you would have new lawes made? for now, for ought that I ſee, you may doe what you pleaſe.

Iren. I ſee, Eudox., that you well remember our firſt purpoſe, and doe rightly continue the courſe thereof. Firſt therefore to ſpeake of lawes, ſince wee firſt beganne with them, I doe not thinke it now convenient, though it bee in the power of the Prince to change all the lawes and make new; for that ſhould breede a great trouble

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and confuſion, aſwell in the Engliſh there dwelling and to be planted, as alſo in the Iriſh. For the Engliſh, having beene alwayes trayned up in the Engliſh governement, will hardly bee inured to any other, and the Iriſh will better be drawne to the Engliſh, then the Engliſh to the Iriſh government. Therefore ſithence wee cannot now apply lawes fit to the people, as in the firſt inſtitutions of common-wealths it ought to bee, wee will apply the people, and fit them unto the lawes, as it moſt conveniently may bee. The lawes therefore wee reſolve ſhall abide in the ſame ſort that they doe, both Common Law and Statutes, onely ſuch defects in the Common-law, and inconveniences in the Statutes, as in the beginning wee noted and as men of deeper inſight ſhall adviſe, may be changed by ſome other new acts and ordinances to bee by Parliament there confirmed: As thoſe for tryalls of Pleas of the Crowne, and private rights betweene parties, colourable conveyances, and acceſſaries.

Eudox. But how will thoſe be redreſſed by Parliament, when as the Iriſh, which ſway moſt in Parliament (as you ſaid), ſhall oppoſe themſelves againſt them?

Iren. That may well now be avoyded: For now that ſo many Free-holders of Engliſh ſhall bee eſtabliſhed, they together with Burgeſſes of townes, and ſuch other loyall Iriſh-men as may bee preferred to bee Knights of the ſhire, and ſuch like, will bee able to beard and to counter-poiſe the reſt; who alſo, being now more brought in awe, will the more eaſily ſubmit to any ſuch ordinances as ſhall bee for the good of themſelves, and that realme generally.

Eudox. You ſay well, for by the increaſe of Freeholders their numbers hereby will be greatly augmented; but how ſhould it paſſe through the higher houſe, which ſtill muſt conſiſte all of Iriſh?

Iren. Marry, that alſo may bee redreſſed by enſample

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of that which I have heard was done in the like caſe by King Edward the Third (as I remember), who, being greatly bearded and croſſed by the Lords of the Cleargie, they being there by reaſon of the Lords Abbots and others, too many and too ſtrong for him, ſo as hee could not for their frowardneſſe order and reforme things as hee deſired, was adviſed to direct out his writts to certaine Gentlemen of the beſt ability and truſt, entitling them therein Barons, to ſerve and ſitt as Barons in the next Parlament. By which meanes hee had ſo many Barons in his Parliament, as were able to weigh downe the Cleargy and their friends: the which Barons they ſay, were not afterwardes Lords, but onely Baronets, as ſundry of them doe yet retayne the name. And by the like device her Majeſtie may now likewiſe curbe and cut ſhort thoſe Iriſh and unruly Lords that hinder all good proceedings.

Eudox. It ſeemes no leſſe then for reforming of all thoſe inconvenient ſtatutes that you noted in the beginning, and redreſſing of all thoſe evill cuſtomes, and laſtly, for ſettling of ſound religion amongſt them: me thinkes you ſhall not neede any more to over-goe thoſe particulars againe, which you mentioned, nor any other which might beſides be remembred, but to leave all to the reformation of ſuch a Parliament, in which, by the good care of the Lord Deputie and Councell they may all be amended. Therfore now you may come unto that generall reformation which you ſpake of, and bringing in of that eſtabliſhment, by which you ſaid all men ſhould be contained in duty ever after, without the terror of warlike forces, or violent wreſting of things by ſharpe puniſhments.

Iren. I will ſo at your pleaſure, the which (me thinkes) can by no meanes be better plotted then by enſample of ſuch other realmes as have beene annoyed with like evills, that Ireland now is, and uſeth ſtill to bee. And firſt in

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this our realme of England, it is manifeſt, by report of the Chronicles and auncient writers, that it was greatly infeſted with robbers and out-lawes, which, lurking in woods and faſt places, uſed often to breake foorth into the highwayes, and ſometimes into ſmall villages to rob and ſpoyle. For redreſſe whereof it is written that King Alured, or Aldred, did divide the realme into ſhires,[q] and the ſhires into hundreds, and the hundreds into lathes or wapentackes, and the wapentackes into tythings: So that tenne tythings made an hundred, and five made a lathe or wapentake, of which tenne, each one was bound for another, and the eldeſt or beſt of them, whom they called the Tythingman or Borſolder, that is, the eldeſt pledge, became ſurety for all the reſt. So that if any one of them did ſtart into any undutiful action, the Borſolder was bound to bring him forth, when joyning eft-ſoones with all his tything, [they] would follow that looſe perſon thorough all places, till they brought him in. And if all that tything fayled, then all that lathe was charged for that tything, and if that lathe fayled, then all that hundred was demaunded for them; and if the hundred, then the ſhire, who, joyning eft-ſoones together, would not reſt till they had found out and delivered in that undutifull fellow which was not ameſnable to law. And herein it ſeemes, that that good Saxon King followed the Counſell of Jethro to Moyſes, who adviſed him to divide the people into hundreds, and to ſet Captaines and wiſe men of truſt over them, who ſhould take the charge of them, and eaſe [him] of that burthen. And ſo did Romulus (as you may read) divide the Romanes into tribes,[r] and the tribes into centuries or

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[q] *divide the realme into ſhires.*] De his qui plura ſcire avet, conſulat D. Hen. Spelmanni eq. aur. Archeologum, in Borſholder & Hundred. SIR JAMES WARE.

[r] *divide the Romanes into tribes.*] Livie ſpeaking of Romulus hath it thus; Populum in curias 30. diviſit, &c. Eodem tempore & centuriæ

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hundreths. By this ordinance this King brought this realme of England, (which before was moſt troubleſome) unto that quiet ſtate, that no one bad perſon could ſtirre but he was ſtraight taken holde of by thoſe of his owne tything, and their Borſholder, who being his neighbor or next kinſman were privie to all his wayes, and looked narrowly into his life. The which inſtitution (if it were obſerved in Ireland) would worke that effect which it did in England, and keep all men within the compaſſe of dutie and obedience.

Eudox. This is contrary to that you ſaid before; for, as I remember, you ſaid that there was a great diſproportion betweene England and Ireland, ſo as the lawes which were fitting for one would not fit the other. How comes it now then, that you would transferre a principall inſtitution from England to Ireland?

Iren. This law was not made by the Norman Conqueror, but by a Saxon King, at what time England was very like to Ireland, as now it ſtands: for it was (as I tolde you) annoyed greatly with robbers and out-lawes, which troubled the whole ſtate of the realme, every corner having a Robin Hood in it, that kept the woods, that ſpoyled all paſſengers and inhabitants, as Ireland now hath; ſo as, me thinkes, this ordinance would fit very well, and bring them all into awe.

Eudox. Then, when you have thus tythed the communalty, as you ſay, and ſet Borſolders over them all, what would you doe when you came to the gentlemen? would you holde the ſame courſe?

Iren. Yea, marry, moſt eſpecially; for this you muſt know, that all the Iriſh almoſt boaſt themſelves to be gen-

tres equitum conſcriptæ ſunt. And ſo we have it in Sextus Aurel. Victor's booke, De Viris illuſtribus urbis Romæ. Tres equitum centurias inſtituit (ſaith he) plebem in triginta curias diſtribuit. SIR JAMES WARE.

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tlemen, no leſſe then the Welſh; for if he can derive himſelfe from the head of any ſept, (as moſt of them can, they are ſo expert by their Bardes) then hee holdeth himſelfe a gentleman, and thereupon ſcorneth to worke, or uſe any hard labour, which hee ſaith is the life of a peaſant or churle; but thenceforth becommeth either an horſeboy, or a ſtocah to ſome kerne,[a] inuring himſelfe to his weapon, and to the gentlemanly trade of ſtealing, (as they count it.) So that if a gentleman, or any wealthy man yeoman of them, have any children, the eldeſt of them perhaps ſhall be kept in ſome order, but all the reſt ſhall ſhift for themſelves, and fall to this occupation. And moreover it is a common uſe amongſt ſome of their gentlemens ſonnes, that ſo ſoone as they are able to uſe their weapons, they ſtraight gather to themſelves three or foure ſtraglers, or kearne, with whom wandring a while up and downe idlely the countrey, taking onely meate, hee at laſt falleth unto ſome bad occaſion that ſhall be offered, which being once made known, hee is thenceforth counted a man of worth, in whome there is courage; whereupon there draw to him many other like looſe young men, which, ſtirring him up with incouragement, provoke him ſhortly to flat rebellion; and this happens not onely ſometimes in the ſonnes of their gentle-men, but alſo of their noble-men, ſpecially of them who have baſe ſonnes. For they are not onely not aſhamed to acknowledge them, but alſo boaſte of them, and uſe them to ſuch ſecret ſervices as they themſelves will not be ſeene in, as to plague their enemyes, to ſpoyle their neighbours, to oppreſſe and cruſh

[a] *or a ſtocah to ſome kerne.*] The word *ſtocah*, as Dr. Johnſon obſerves, is probably from the Erſe *ſtochk*; but it is hardly uſed by Spenſer in the ſenſe of "one who runs at a horſeman's foot, or of a horſeboy," as the context clearly proves; it may be in that of "an attendant or walletboy." So before: "The ſtrength of all that nation, is the kerne, galloglaſſe, *ſtocah*, horſeman, and horſeboy, &c." Where the diſtinction is again preſerved. TODD. Richardſon has not the word. C.

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ſome of their owne too ſtubburne free-holders, which are not tractable to their wills.

Eudox. Then it ſeemeth that this ordinance of tithing them by the pole is not onely fit for the gentle-men, but alſo for the noble-men, whom I would have thought to be of ſo honourable a mind, as that they ſhould not neede ſuch a kinde of being bound to their allegiance, who ſhould rather have held in and ſtayde all the other from undutifulneſſe, then neede to bee forced thereunto themſelves.

Iren. Yet ſo it is, Eudoxus; but becauſe that noble-men cannot be tythed, there being not many tythings of them, and alſo becauſe a Borſolder over them ſhould be not onely a great indignitie, but alſo a danger to adde more power to them then they have, or to make one the commander of tenne, I holde it meeter that there were onely ſureties taken of them, and one bound for another, whereby, if any ſhall ſwerve, his ſureties ſhall for ſafeguard of their bonds either bring him in, or ſeeke to ſerve upon him: and beſides this, I would wiſh them all to bee ſworne to her Majeſtie, which they never yet were, but at the firſt creation; and that oath would ſure contayne them greatly, or the breach of it bring them to ſhorter vengeance, for God uſeth to puniſh perjurie ſharpely. So I reade, that there was a corporall oath taken in the raignes of Edward the Second,[t] and of Henry the Seventh,[u] (when the times were very broken) of all the lords and beſt gentle-men, of fealtie to the Kings, which now is no leſſe needfull, becauſe many of them are ſuſpected to have taken an other oath privily to ſome bad purpoſes, and

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[t] *Edward the Second.*] Richard the Second. SIR JAMES WARE.

[u] *Henry the Seventh.*] The ſervice was performed by Sir Richard Edgecombe, being appointed thereunto by a ſpeciall commiſſion from K. Henry the Seventh. There is yet extant an exact diary of all his proceedings therein, from his firſt landing at Kinſale the 27th of June, 1488, till his departure from Dublin the 30th of July next. SIR JAMES WARE.

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thereupon to have received the Sacrament, and beene ſworne to a prieſt, which they thinke bindeth them more then their alleagiance to their Prince, or love of their countrey.

Eudox. This tything to the common-people, and taking ſureties of lords and gentlemen, I like very well, but that it wilbe very troubleſome: ſhould it not be as well for to have them all booked, and the lords and gentle-men to take all the meaner ſort upon themſelves? for they are beſt able to bring them in, whenſoever any of them ſtarteth out.

Iren. This indeed (Eudoxus) hath beene hitherto, and yet is a common order amongſt them, to have all the people booked by the lords and gentlemen, but yet the worſt order that ever was deviſed; for by this booking of men all the inferiour ſort are brought under the command of their lords, and forced to follow them into any action whatſoever. Now this you are to underſtand, that all the rebellions which you ſee from time to time happen in Ireland are not begun by the common people, but by the lords and captaines of countries, upon pride or wilfull obſtinacy againſt the government, which whenſoever they will enter into, they drawe with them all their people and followers, which thinke themſelves bound to goe with them, becauſe they have booked them and undertaken for them. And this is the reaſon that in England you have ſuch few bad occaſions, by reaſon that the noble men, however they ſhould happen to be evill diſpoſed, ſhould have no commaund at all over the communalty, though dwelling under them, becauſe that every man ſtandeth upon himſelfe, and buildeth his fortunes upon his owne faith and firme aſſurance: the which this manner of tything the poles will worke alſo in Ireland. For by this the people are broken into many ſmall parts, like little ſtreames, that they cannot eaſily come together into one head, which is the principall regard that is to be had

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in Ireland to keepe them from growing unto ſuch a head, and adhering unto great men.

Eudox. But yet I cannot ſee how this can bee well brought, without doing great wrong unto the noble men there; for at the firſt conqueſt of that realme, thoſe great ſeigniories and lordſhips were given them by the King, that they ſhould bee the ſtronger againſt the Iriſh, by the multitudes of followers and tennants under them: all which hold their tenements of them by fealty, and ſuch ſervices, whereby they are (by the firſt graunt of the King) made bounden unto them, and tyed to riſe out with them into all occaſions of ſervice. And this I have often heard, that when the Lord Deputy hath raiſed any generall hoſtings, the noble men have claimed the leading of them, by graunt from the Kings of England under the Greate Seal exhibited; ſo as the Deputies could not refuſe them to have the leading of them, or, if they did, they would ſo worke, as none of their followers ſhould riſe forth to the hoſtage.

Iren. You ſay very true; but will you ſee the fruite of thoſe grants? I have knowne when thoſe lords have had the leading of their owne followers under them to the generall hoſtings, that they have for the ſame cut upon every plowland within their country 40. ſhill. or more, whereby ſome of them have gathered above ſeven or eight hundred pounds, and others much more, into their purſe, in lieu whereof they have gathered unto themſelves a number of looſe kearne out of all parts, which they have carried forth with them, to whom they never gave any penny of entertainement, allowed by the countrey or forced by them, but let them feede upon the countryes, and extort upon all men where they come; for that people will never aſke better entertainment then to have a colour of ſervice or imployment given them, by which they will pole and ſpoyle ſo outragiouſly, as the very enemy cannot

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doe much worſe: and they alſo ſometimes turne to the enemy.

Eudox. It ſeemes the firſt intent of thoſe graunts was againſt the Iriſh, which now ſome of them uſe againſt the Queene her ſelfe: But now what remedy is there for this? or how can thoſe graunts of the Kings be avoyded, without wronging of thoſe lords which had thoſe lands and lordſhips given them?

Iren. Surely they may be well enough; for moſt of thoſe lords, ſince their firſt graunts from the Kings by which thoſe lands were given them, have ſithence beſtowed the moſt part of them amongſt their kinsfolke, as every lord perhaps hath given in his time one or other of his principall caſtles to his younger ſonne, and other to others, as largely and as amply as they were given to him, and others they have ſold, and others they have bought, which were not in their firſt graunt, which now nevertheleſſe they bring within the compaſſe thereof, and take and exact upon them, as upon their firſt demeaſnes, all thoſe kinde of ſervices, yea and the very wilde exactions, Coignie, Livery, Sorehon,[x] and ſuch like, by which they pole and utterly undoe the poore tennants and freehoulders unto them, which either thorough ignorance know not their tenures, or through greatnes of their new lords dare not challenge them; yea, and ſome lords of countryes alſo, as great ones as themſelves, are now by ſtrong hand brought under them, and made their vaſſalls. As for example Arundell of the Stronde in the County of Corke, who was aunciently a great lord, and was able to ſpend 3500. pounds by the yeare, as appeareth by

[x] *Coignie, Livery, Sorehon.*] What Coigny and Livery doe ſignifie, has been already expreſſed. Sorehon was a tax laide upon the freeholders for certaine dayes in each quarter of a yeare, to finde victualls, and lodging, and to pay certaine ſtipends to the kerne, galloglaſſes, and horſemen. SIR JAMES WARE.

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good recordes, is now become the Lord Barries man, and doth to him all thoſe ſervices, which are due unto her Majeſty. For reformation of all which, I wiſh that there were a commiſſion graunted forth under the Great Seale, as I have ſeene one recorded in the old councell booke of Mounſter, that was ſent forth in the time of Sir William Drurie unto perſons of ſpeciall truſt and judgement to inquire thoroughout all Ireland, beginning with one county firſt, and ſo reſting a while till the ſame were ſettled, by the verdict of a ſound and ſubſtantiall jury, how every man houldeth his land, of whom, and by what tenure, ſo that every one ſhould be admitted to ſhew and exhibite what right he hath, and by what ſervices hee houldeth his land, whether in cheife or in ſoccage, or by knights ſervice, or how elſe ſoever. Thereupon would appeare, firſt how all thoſe great Engliſh lords doe claime thoſe great ſervices, what ſeigniories they uſurpe, what wardſhips they take from the Queene, what lands of hers they conceale: And then, how thoſe Iriſh captaines of countryes have incroached upon the Queenes free-holders and tennants, how they have tranſlated the tenures of them from Engliſh houlding unto Iriſh Taniſtry, and defeated her Majeſty of all her rights and dutyes which are to acrew to her thereout, as wardſhips, liveries, marriages, fines of alienations, and many other commodities; which now are kept and concealed from her Majeſty to the value of 4000. pounds *per annum*, I dare undertake, in all Ireland, by that which I know in one county.

Eudox. This, Irenæus, would ſeeme a dangerous commiſſion, and ready to ſtirre up all the Iriſh in rebellion, who knowing that they have nothing to ſhew for all thoſe lands which they hould, but their ſwords, would rather drawe them then ſuffer the lands to bee thus drawne away from them.

Iren. Neither ſhould their lands be taken away from

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them, nor the utmoſt advantages inforced againſt them: But this by diſcretion of the commiſſioners ſhould be made knowne unto them, that it is not her Majeſties meaning to uſe any ſuch extreamity, but onely to reduce things into order of Engliſh law, and make them hould their lands of her, and to reſtore to her her due ſervices, which they detaine out of thoſe lands which were aunciently held of her. And that they ſhould not onely not be thruſt out, but alſo have eſtates and grants of their lands new made to them from her Majeſty, ſo as they ſhould thence-forth hould them rightfully, which they now uſurpe wrongfully; and yet withall I would wiſh, that in all thoſe Iriſh countryes there were ſome land reſerved to her Majeſties free diſpoſition for the better containing of the reſt, and intermingling them with Engliſh inhabitants and cuſtomes, that knowledge might ſtill be had of them, and of all their doings, ſo as no manner of practiſe or conſpiracy ſhould be had in hand amongſt them, but notice ſhould bee given thereof by one meanes or another, and their practiſes prevented.

Eudox. Truely neither can the Iriſh, nor yet the Engliſh lords, thinke themſelves wronged, nor hardly dealt withall herein, to have that which is indeede none of their owne at all, but her Majeſties abſolutely, given to them with ſuch equall conditions, as that both they may be aſſured thereof, better then they are, and alſo her Majeſty not defrauded of her right utterly; for it is a great grace in a prince, to take that with conditions which is abſolutely her owne. Thus ſhall the Iriſh be well ſatisfied, and as for the great men which had ſuch graunts made to them at firſt by the Kings of England, it was in regard that they ſhould keepe forth the Iriſh, and defend the Kings right, and his ſubjects: but now ſeeing that, in ſtead of defending them, they robbe and ſpoyle them, and, in ſtead of keeping out the Iriſh, they

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doe not onely make the Iriſh their tenants in thoſe lands, and thruſt out the Engliſh, but alſo ſome of themſelves become meere Iriſh, with marrying with them, with foſtering with them, and combyning with them againſt the Queene; what reaſon is there but that thoſe graunts and priviledges ſhould bee either revoked, or at leaſt reduced to the firſt intention for which they were graunted? for ſure in mine opinion they are more ſharpely to bee chaſtiſed and reformed then the rude Iriſh, which, being very wilde at the firſt, are now become more civill, when as theſe from civillity are growne to be wilde and meere Iriſh.

Iren. Indeede as you ſay, Eudoxus, theſe doe neede a ſharper reformation then the Iriſh, for they are more ſtubborne, and diſobedient to law and governement, then the Iriſh be.[7]

Eudox. In truth, Irenæus, this is more then ever I heard, that any Engliſh there ſhould bee worſe then the Iriſh: Lord, how quickely doth that countrey alter mens natures! It is not for nothing (I perceive) which I have heard, that the Councell of England thinke it no good policie to have that realme reformed, or planted with Engliſh, leaſt they ſhould grow ſo undutifull as the Iriſh, and become much more dangerous: as appeareth by the enſamples of the Lacies in the time of Edward the Second, which you ſpake of, that ſhooke off their allegiance to their naturall Prince, and turned to Edward le Bruce, to make him King of Ireland.

Iren. No times have beene without bad men: But as for that purpoſe of the Councell of England, which you ſpake of, that they ſhould keepe that realme from re-

[7] *then the Iriſh be.*] In the manuſcript belonging to the Marquis of Stafford, there follow two very ſevere paragraphs. I prefer the text of Sir James Ware, who profeſſes to follow the *beſt*, that is, I preſume, a *corrected*, manuſcript. TODD.

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formation, I thinke they are moſt lewdly abuſed, for their great carefulneſſe and earneſt endeavours doe witneſſe the contrary. Neither is it the nature of the countrey to alter mens manners, but the bad mindes of the men, who having been brought up at home under a ſtraight rule of duty and obedience, being alwayes reſtrayned by ſharpe penalties from lewde behaviour, ſo ſoone as they come thither, where they ſee lawes more ſlackely tended, and the hard reſtraint which they were uſed unto now ſlacked, they grow more looſe and careleſſe of their duty: and as it is the nature of all men to love liberty, ſo they become flat libertines, and fall to all licentiouſnes, more boldly daring to diſobey the law, thorough the preſumption of favour and friendſhip, then any Iriſh dareth.

Eudox. Then if that be ſo, (me thinkes) your late adviſement was very evill, whereby you wiſhed the Iriſh to be ſowed and ſprinckled with Engliſh, and in all the Iriſh countryes to have Engliſh planted amongſt them, for to bring them to Engliſh faſhions, ſince the Engliſh ſooner drawe to the Iriſh then the Iriſh to the Engliſh: for as you ſaid before, if they muſt runne with the ſtreame, the greater number will carry away the leſſe: Therefore (me thinkes) by this reaſon it ſhould bee better to part the Iriſh and Engliſh, then to mingle them together.

Iren. Not ſo, Eudoxus; for where there is no good ſtay of government, and ſtrong ordinances to hould them, there indeede the fewer follow the more, but where there is due order of diſcipline and good rule, there the better ſhall goe foremoſt, and the worſt ſhall follow. And therefore now, ſince Ireland is full of her owne nation, that ought not to be rooted out, and ſomewhat ſtored with Engliſh already, and more to be, I thinke it beſt by an union of manners, and conformity of mindes, to bring

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them to be one people, and to put away the diſſikefull conceipt both of the one, and the other, which will be by no meanes better then by this intermingling of them: For neither all the Iriſh may dwell together, nor all the Engliſh, but by tranſlating of them and ſcattering them amongſt the Engliſh, not onely to bring them by dayly converſation unto better liking of each other, but alſo to make both of them leſſe able to hurt. And therefore when I come to the tything of them, I will tithe them one with another, and for the moſt part will make an Iriſh man the tything-man, whereby he ſhall take the leſſe exception to partiality, and yet be the more tyed thereby. But when I come to the Head Borough, which is the head of the lathe, him will I make an Engliſh man, or an Iriſh man of ſpeciall aſſurance: as alſo when I come to appoint the Alderman, that is the head of the hundreth, him will I ſurely chooſe to be an Engliſh man of ſpeciall regard, that may be a ſtay and pillar of all the borough under him.

Eudox. What doe you meane by your hundred, and what by your borough? By that, that I have read in auncient records of England, an hundred did containe an hundreth villages, or as ſome ſay an hundred ploughlands, being the ſame which the Saxons called Cantred;[z]

[z] *Cantred.*] Cantred is a Brittiſh word, anſwering to the Saxon Hundred. How much land a cantred containeth, is variouſly delivered. Some hould that it containes 100 townes. So Gir. Barry or Cambrenſis, in his Itinerary of Wales, (lib. 2. cap. 7.) "Dicitur autem cantredus, (ſaith he) compoſito vocabulo tam Britannica quam Hibernica lingua, tanta terra portio, quanta 100. villas continere ſolet." The author here cites a record which makes it containe but 30. towne-lands; and John Clynn, (if my copy therein be not miſtaken) hath but 20. But another more auncient MS. ſometime belonging to the Friars Minors of Multifernan, hath 30. "Quælibet cantreda (ſaith Clinne) continet xx. (al. xxx.) villatas terræ, quælibet villata poteſt ſuſtinere 300 vaccas in paſcuis, ita quod vaccæ in X. (al. IIII.) partes diviſa, nulla alteri appropinquabit, quælibet villata continet viii. carucatas." We finde alſo there

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the which cantred, as I finde it recorded in the blacke booke of [the Exchequer of] Ireland, did contain xxx. Villatas terræ, which ſome call, quarters of land, and every Villata can maintaine 400 cowes in paſture, and the 400. cowes to be divided into 4. heards, ſo as none of them ſhall come neere other: every Villata containing 18. plowlands, as is there ſet downe. And by that which I have read of a borough it ſignifieth a free towne, which had a principall officer, called a head-borough, to become ruler, and undertake for all the dwellers under him, having, for the ſame franchiſes and priviledges graunted them by the King, whereof it was called a free borough, and of the lawyers *franci-plegium*.

Iren. Both that which you ſaid, Eudoxus, is true, and yet that which I ſay not untrue; for that which you ſpake of deviding the countrey into hundreds was a deviſion of the lands of the realme, but this which I tell, was of the people, which were thus devided by the pole: ſo that hundreth in this ſenſe ſignifieth a 100. pledges, which were under the command and aſſurance of their alderman, the which (as I ſuppoſe) was alſo called a wapentake, ſo named of touching the weapon or ſpeare of their alderman, and ſwearing to follow him faithfully, and ſerve their Prince truly. But others thinke that a wapentake was 10. hundreds or boroughs: Likewiſe a borough, as I here uſe it, and as the old lawes ſtill uſe, is not a borough towne, as they now call it, that is a franchiſed towne, but a maine pledge of 100. free perſons, therefore called a free borough or (as you ſay) *franci-plegium*: For Borh in old Saxon ſignifieth a pledge or ſurety, and yet it is ſo

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the provinces of Ireland thus divided into cantreds. Ultonia continet 35. cantredas, Conacia 30. Lagenia 31. Midia 18. & Momonia 70. See more concerning cantreds in Sir Hen. Spelmann's excellent Gloſſary. As cantreds are diverſly eſtimated, ſo are alſo carues or plowlands. Sir James Ware.

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uſed with us in ſome ſpeeches, as Chaucer ſaith; St. John to *borrow*,[a] that is for aſſurance and warranty.

Eudox. I conceive the difference. But now that you have thus devided the people into theſe tythings and hundreths, how will you have them ſo preſerved and continued? for people doe often change their dwelling places, and ſome muſt die, whilſt other ſome doe growe up into ſtrength of yeares, and become men.

Iren. Theſe hundreds I would wiſh to aſſemble themſelves once every yeare with their pledges, and to preſent themſelves before the juſtices of the peace, which ſhall bee thereunto appointed, to bee ſurveyed and numbred, to ſee what change hath happened ſince the yeare before; and, the defects to ſupplie of young plants late growne up, the which are diligently to bee overlooked and viewed of what condition and demeanour they be, ſo as pledges may bee taken for them, and they put into order of ſome tything: of all which alterations note is to be taken, and bookes made thereof accordingly.

Eudox. Now (mee thinkes) Irenæus, you are to bee warned to take heede, leſt unawares you fall into that inconvenience which you formerly found fault with in others; namely, that by this booking of them, you doe not gather them into a new head, and having broken their former ſtrength, doe not unite them more ſtrongly againe: For every alderman, having all theſe free pledges of his hundred under his command, may (me thinkes) if hee be evill diſpoſed drawe all his companie into an evill action. And likewiſe, by this aſſembling of them once a yeare unto their alderman by their weapentakes, take heede leſt you alſo give them occaſion and meanes to practiſe together in any conſpiracyes.

[a] *to borrow.*] Spenſer uſes the word in the ſame ſenſe in his "Shepheards Calender." Todd. It occurs there twice; ſee vol. i. pp. 60. 105. Our poet alſo employs it in his F. Q. vol. iv. p. 416. C.

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Iren. Neither of both is to be doubted; for their aldermen and headboroughes will not be ſuch men of power and countenance of themſelves, being to be choſen thereunto, as neede to be feared: Neither, if hee were, is his hundred at his commaund further then his Princes ſervice; and alſo every tything man may controll him in ſuch a caſe. And as for the aſſembling of the hundred, much leſſe is any danger thereof to be doubted, ſeeing it is before ſome juſtice of the peace, or ſome high conſtable to bee thereunto appointed: So as of theſe tythings there can no perill enſue, but a certaine aſſurance of peace and great good; for they are thereby withdrawne from their lords, and ſubjected to the Prince. Moreover for the better breaking of theſe heads and ſepts, which (I told you) was one of the greateſt ſtrengthes of the Iriſh, me thinkes, it ſhould bee very well to renewe that ould ſtatute which was made in the raigne of Edward[b] the Fourth in Ireland, by which it was commaunded, that whereas all men[c] then uſed to be called by the name of their ſepts, according to the ſeverall nations, and had no ſurnames at all, that from thenceforth each once ſhould take upon himſelfe a ſeverall ſurname, either of his trade and facultie, or of ſome quality of his body or minde, or of the place where he dwelt, ſo as every one ſhould be diſtinguiſhed from the other, or from the moſt part, wherby they ſhall not onely not depend upon the head of their ſept, as now they do, but alſo in time learne quite to forget his Iriſh nation. And herewithall would I alſo

[b] *in the raigne of Edward.*] An. 5 Edw. 4. Sir James Ware.

[c] *that whereas all men.*] The ſtatute referres onely to the Iriſh, dwelling among the Engliſh, in the counties of Dublin, Meth, Uriel, and Kildare. Uriel, called alſo Ergallia, did anciently comprehend all that countrey which is now divided into the counties of Louth and Monoghan, although it may be conceived, that Louth was onely intended by the ſtatute, becauſe Monoghan was then (in a manner) wholly poſſeſſed by the Iriſh. Sir James Ware.

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wiſh all the O's and the Mac's, which the heads of ſepts have taken to their names, to bee utterly forbidden and extinguiſhed; for that the ſame being an ordinance (as ſome ſay) firſt made by O Brien[d] for the ſtrengthning of the Iriſh, the abrogating thereof will aſmuch enfeeble them.

Eudox. I like this ordinance very well; but now that you have thus divided and diſtinguiſhed them, what other order will you take for their manner of life?[e]

Iren. The next thing that I will doe ſhalbe to appoint to every one, that is not able to live of his free-holde, a certaine trade of life, to which he ſhall finde himſelfe fitteſt, and ſhalbe thought ableſt, the which trade hee ſhalbe bound to follow, and live onely thereupon. All trades therefore are to be underſtood to be of three kindes, manuall, intellectuall, and mixed. The firſt containeth all ſuch as needeth exerciſe of bodily labour to the performance of their profeſſion. The ſecond conſiſting only of the exerciſe of wit and reaſon. The third ſort, part of bodily labor, and part of the wit, but depending moſt of induſtrie and carefulnes. Of the firſt ſort be all handy-crafts and huſbandry labour. Of the ſecond be all ſciences, and thoſe which be called liberall arts. Of the third is merchandize and chafferie, that is, buying and ſelling; and without all theſe three there is no common-wealth can almoſt conſiſt, or at the leaſt be perfect. But the realme of Ireland wanteth the moſt principall of

[d] *O Brien.*] The cuſtome of prefixing the vowell O to many of the chiefe Iriſh ſurnames, began ſoone after the yeere M. in the raigne of Brien Bonoma (the ſon of Kennethy) king of Ireland. As for Mac in ſurnames, it beareth no other ſignification, then Fitz doth among the French, and (from them) the Engliſh; and Ap with the Welſh. And although it were more anciently uſed then the other, yet it varied according to the fathers name, and became not ſo ſoone fully ſettled in families. Sir James Ware.

[e] *manner of life.*] Another ſevere remark here follows in the manuſcript mentioned in the note on p. 473. Todd.

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them, that is, the intellectuall; therfore in ſeeking to reforme her ſtate it is ſpecially to be looked unto. But becauſe by huſbandry, which ſupplyeth unto us all things neceſſary for food, wherby we chiefly live, therefore it is firſt to be provided for. The firſt thing therefore that wee are to draw theſe new tythed men into, ought to be huſbandry. Firſt, becauſe it is the moſt eaſie to be learned, needing onely the labour of the body. Next, becauſe it is moſt generall and moſt needful; then, becauſe it is moſt naturall; and laſtly, becauſe it is moſt enemy to warre, and moſt hateth unquietnes: As the Poet ſaith,

—— "bella execrata colonis:"

for huſbandry being the nurſe of thrift, and the daughter of induſtrie and labour, deteſteth all that may worke her ſcathe, and deſtroy the travaile of her hands, whoſe hope is all her lives comfort unto the plough: therefore are thoſe Kearne, Stocaghes, and Horſe-boyes, to bee driven and made to imploy that ableneſſe of bodie, which they were wont to uſe to theft and villainy, hencefoorth to labour and induſtry. In the which, by that time they have ſpent but a little paine, they will finde ſuch ſweeteneſſe and happy contentment, that they will afterwardes hardly bee haled away from it, or drawne to their wonted lewde life in theeverie and roguerie. And being once thus inured thereunto, they are not onely to bee countenanced and encouraged by all good meanes, but alſo provided that their children after them may be brought up likewiſe in the ſame, and ſucceede in the roomes of their fathers. To which end there is a Statute[f] in Ireland already well provided, which commaundeth that all the ſonnes of huſbandmen ſhall be trained up in their

[f] *there is a Statute.*] Anno 25° Hen. 6. Sir James Ware.

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fathers trades, but it is (God wot) very ſlenderly executed.

Eudox. But doe you not count, in this trade of huſbandry, paſturing of cattle, and keeping of their cowes? for that is reckoned as a part of huſbandrie.

Iren. I know it is, and needefully to bee uſed, but I doe not meane to allow any of thoſe able bodies, which are able to uſe bodily labour, to follow a few cowes grazeing, but ſuch impotent perſons, as being unable for ſtrong travaile, are yet able to drive cattle to and fro to their paſture; for this keeping of cowes is of it ſelfe a very idle life, and a fit nurſerie for a thiefe. For which cauſe (you remember) I diſliked the Iriſh manner of keeping Boolies in Summer upon the mountaines, and living after that ſavage ſort. But if they will algates feede many cattle, or keepe them on the mountaines, let them make ſome townes neare to the mountaines ſide, where they may dwell together with neighbours, and be converſant in the view of the world. And, to ſay truth, though Ireland bee by nature counted a great ſoyle of paſture, yet had I rather have fewer cowes kept, and men better mannered, then to have ſuch huge increaſe of cattle, and no increaſe of good conditions. I would therefore wiſh that there were ſome ordinances made amongſt them, that whoſoever keepeth twentie kine ſhould keep a plough going, for otherwiſe all men would fall to paſturage, and none to huſbandry, which is a great cauſe of this dearth now in England, and a cauſe of the uſuall ſtealthes in Ireland: For looke into all countreyes that live in ſuch ſort by keeping of cattle, and you ſhall finde that they are both very barbarous and uncivill, and alſo greatly given to warre. The Tartarians, the Muſcovites, the Norwegians, the Gothes, the Armenians, and many other doe witneſſe the ſame. And therefore ſince now wee purpoſe to draw the Iriſh from deſire of warre

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and tumults, to the love of peace and civility, it is expedient to abridge their great cuſtome of h[e]ardening, and augment their trade of tillage and huſbandrie. As for other occupations and trades, they need not bee inforced to, but every man to be bound onely to follow one that hee thinkes himſelfe apteſt for. For other trades of artificers will be occupied for very neceſſitie, and conſtrayned uſe of them; and ſo likewiſe will merchandize for the gaine thereof; but learning, and bringing up in liberall ſciences, will not come of it ſelfe, but muſt bee drawne on with ſtreight lawes and ordinances: And therefore it were meete that ſuch an act were ordained, that all the ſonnes of lords, gentlemen, and ſuch others as are able to bring them up in learning, ſhould be trayned up therein from their child-hoods. And for that end every pariſh ſhould be forced to keepe a pettie ſchoole-maſter, adjoyning unto the pariſh church, to bee the more in view, which ſhould bring up their children in the firſt elements of letters: and that, in every countrey or baronie, they ſhould keepe an other able ſchoole-maſter, which ſhould inſtruct them in grammar, and in the principles of ſciences,[s] to whom they ſhould be compelled to

[s] *in the principles of ſciences.*] How requiſite alſo an univerſitie is, for the further growth in learning, the judicious well know. This happineſſe we now enjoy, to the great benefit of this land. And although former attempts have beene made for erecting and eſtabliſhing univerſities in Ireland, yet through want of meanes, which ſhould have beene allotted for their maintenance, they have ſoone faded. So hapned it with that academy which Alexander de Bignor, Archbiſhop of Dublin, erected (in S. Patricks Church) in Dublin, and procured to be confirmed by Pope John the 12th. And no better ſucceeded that which was afterwards erected at Tredagh by act of parliament Anno 5. Edw. 4. (as appeares in the roll of that yeare in the Chauncery) whereby all the like priviledges, as the Univerſity of Oxford (in England) enjoyed, were conferred upon it. Beſides theſe wee finde mention of others farre more ancient, as at Armagh, and Roſſ. Carbry, or Roſſ. Ailithry, as it is called in the life of S. Faghnan the founder, who lived in the yeare 590. "Ipſe Sanctus (ſaith the author) in auſtrali Hiberniæ plagâ juxta

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ſend their youth to bee diſciplined, whereby they will in ſhort ſpace grow up to that civill converſation, that both the children will loath their former rudeneſſe in which they were bred, and alſo their parents will, even by the enſample of their young children, perceive the fouleneſſe of their own behaviour compared to theirs: for learning hath that wonderfull power in it ſelfe, that it can ſoften and temper the moſt ſterne and ſavage nature.

Eudox. Surely I am of your minde, that nothing will bring them from their uncivill life ſooner then learning and diſcipline, next after the knowledge and feare of God. And therefore I doe ſtill expect, that you ſhould come thereunto, and ſet ſome order for reformation of religion, which is firſt to bee reſpected; according to the ſaying of CHRIST, "Seeke firſt the kingdome of heaven, and the righteouſneſſe thereof."

Iren. I have in minde ſo to doe; but let me (I pray you) firſt finiſh that which I had in hand, whereby all the ordinances which ſhall afterwardes bee ſet for religion may abide the more firmely, and bee obſerved more diligently. Now that this people is thus tythed and ordered, and every one bound unto ſome honeſt trade of life, which ſhall bee particularly entered and ſet downe in the tything booke, yet perhappes there will bee ſome ſtragglers and runnagates which will not of themſelves come in and yeeld themſelves to this order, and yet after the well finiſhing of the preſent warre, and eſtabliſhing of the garriſons in all ſtrong places of the countrey, where the[i]re wonted refuge was moſt, I ſuppoſe there will few ſtand out, or if they doe, they will ſhortly bee brought in by the eares: But yet afterwardes, leſt any one of them ſhould ſwerve, or any

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mare, in ſuo monaſterio quod ipſe fundavit, ibi crevit civitas, in quâ ſemper manens magnum ſtudium ſcholarium, quod dicitur Roſſailithry, habitabat." But a further ſearch were fit to bee made touching thoſe of the elder times. SIR JAMES WARE.

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that is tyed to a trade ſhould afterwardes not follow the ſame, according to this inſtitution, but ſhould ſtraggle up and downe the countrey, or mich in corners[h] amongſt their friends idlely, as Carrowes, Bardes, Jeſters, and ſuch like, I would wiſhe that a Provoſt Marſhall ſhould bee appointed in every ſhire, which ſhould continually walke about the countrey, with halfe a dozen, or halfe a ſcore horſemen, to take up ſuch looſe perſons as they ſhould finde thus wandering, whome hee ſhould puniſh by his owne authority, with ſuch paines as the perſon ſhall ſeeme to deſerve: for if hee be but once ſo taken idlely roguing, hee may puniſh him more lightly, as with ſtockes, or ſuch like; but if hee bee found againe ſo loytering, hee may ſcourge him with whippes, or rodds, after which if hee bee againe taken, let him have the bitterneſſe of marſhall lawe. Likewiſe if any reliques of the olde rebellion bee found by any, that either have not come in and ſubmitted themſelves to the law, or that having once come in, doe breake forth againe, and walke diſorderly, let them taſte of the ſame cuppe in Gods name; for it was due to them for their firſt guilt, and now being revived by their later looſeneſſe, let them have their firſt deſert, as now being found unfit to live in the commonwealth.

Eudox. This were a good ordinance; but mee thinkes it is an unneceſſary charge, and alſo unfit to continue the name or forme of any marſhall law, when as there is a proper officer already appointed for theſe turnes, to wit the ſheriffe of the ſhire, whoſe peculiar office it is to walke up and downe his bayli-wicke, as you would have

[h] *or mich in corners.*] The word *micher* is uſed by Chaucer to denote a thief or vagabond, Rom. R. 6541. edit. Urr. And Mr. Tyrwhitt cites the following uſage of the verb: "*Mychyn* or pryvely ſtelyn ſmale thyngs. Surripio. *Prompt. Parv.*" See alſo Cotgrave in V. "To *miche*, etre vilain." Todd. Richardſon gives the Fr. *miche* as the etymology, to *mich* being to ſteal ſmall things. C.

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a marſhall, to ſnatch up all thoſe runnagates and unprofitable members, and to bring them to his gaole to bee puniſhed for the ſame. Therefore this may well be ſpared.

Iren. Not ſo, me thinkes; for though the ſheriffe have this authority of himſelfe to take up all ſuch ſtragglers, and impriſon them, yet ſhall hee not doe ſo much good, nor worke that terrour in the hearts of them, that a marſhall will, whom they ſhall know to have power of life and death in ſuch caſes, and eſpecially to bee appointed for them: Neither doth it hinder that, but that though it pertaine to the ſheriffe, the ſheriffe may doe therein what hee can, and yet the marſhall may walke his courſe beſides; for both of them may doe the more good, and more terrifie the idle rogue, knowing that though he have a watch upon the one, yet hee may light upon the other. But this proviſo is needefull to bee had in this caſe, that the ſheriffe may not have the like power of life as the marſhall hath, and as heretofore they have beene accuſtomed; for it is dangerous to give power of life into the hands of him which may have benefit by the parties death, as, if the ſaid looſe liver have any goods of his owne, the Sheriffe is to ſeize thereupon, whereby it hath come to paſſe, that ſome who have not deſerved judgement of death, though otherwiſe perhaps offending, have beene for their goods ſake caught up, and carryed ſtraight to the bough; a thing indeed very pittiful and horrible. Therefore by no meanes I would have the Sheriffe have ſuch authority, nor yet to impriſon that lozell till the ſeſſions, for ſo all gaoles might ſoon be filled, but to ſend him to the Marſhall, who, eftſoones finding him faultie, ſhall give him meete correction, and ridd him away forthwith.

Eudox. I doe now perceive your reaſon well. But come wee now to that whereof we earſt ſpake, I meane,

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to religion and religious men; what order will you ſet amongſt them?

Iren. For religion little have I to ſay, my ſelfe being (as I ſaid) not profeſſed therein, and it ſelfe being but one, ſo as there is but one way therein; for that which is true onely is, and the reſt is not at all, yet in planting of religion thus much is needefull to be obſerved, that it bee not ſought forcibly to bee impreſſed into them with terrour and ſharpe penalties, as now is the manner, but rather delivered and intimated with mildneſſe and gentleneſſe, ſo as it may not be hated before it be underſtood, and their Profeſſors deſpiſed and rejected. And therefore it is expedient that ſome diſcreete Miniſters of their owne countrey-men bee firſt ſent over amongſt them, which by their meeke perſwaſions and inſtructions, as alſo by their ſober lives and converſations, may draw them firſt to underſtand, and afterwards to imbrace, the doctrine of their ſalvation; for if that the auncient godly Fathers, which firſt converted them, when they were infidells, to the faith, were able to pull them from idolatry and paganiſme to the true beliefe in CHRIST, as S. Patricke, and S. Columb, how much more eaſily ſhall godly teachers bring them to the true underſtanding of that which they already profeſſed? wherein it is great wonder to ſee the oddes which is betweene the zeale of Popiſh Prieſts, and the Miniſters of the Goſpell; for they ſpare not to come out of Spaine, from Rome, and from Remes, by long toyle and daungerous travayling hither, where they know perill of death awayteth them, and no reward or richeſſe is to be found, onely to draw the people unto the Church of Rome; whereas ſome of our idle Miniſters, having a way for credite and eſtimation thereby opened unto them, and having the livings of the countrey offered unto them, without paines, and without perill, will neither for the ſame, nor any love of God, nor zeale of religion,

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nor for all the good they may doe by winning ſoules to God, bee drawne foorth from their warme neaſtes to looke out into Gods harveſt, which is even ready for the ſickle, and all the fields yellow long agoe: doubtleſſe thoſe good olde godly Fathers will (I feare mee) riſe up in the day of judgement to condemne them.

Eudox. Surely, it is great pitty, Iren., that there are none choſen out of the Miniſters of England, good, ſober, and diſcreet men, which might be ſent over thither to teach and inſtruct them, and that there is not aſmuch care had of their ſoules as of their bodies; for the care of both lyeth upon the Prince.

Iren. Were there never ſo many ſent over they ſhould doe ſmal good till one enormity be taken from them, that is, that both they bee reſtrayned from ſending their yong men abroad to other Univerſities beyond the ſea, as Remes, Doway, Lovaine, and the like, and others from abroad bee reſtrayned for comming into them; for their lurking ſecretly in their houſes and in corners of the countrey doe more hurt and hinderance to religion with their private perſwaſions, then all the others can doe good with their publique inſtructions; and though for theſe latter there be a good ſtatute there ordained, yet the ſame is not executed, and as for the former there is no law nor order for their reſtraint at all.

Eudox. I marvaile it is no better looked unto, and not only this, but that alſo which, I remember, you mentioned in your abuſes concerning the profits and revenewes of the lands of fugitives in Ireland, which by pretence of certaine colourable conveyances are ſent continually over unto them, to the comforting of them and others againſt her Majeſtie, for which here in England there is good order taken; and why not then aſwell in Ireland? For though there be no ſtatute there yet enacted therefore, yet might her Majeſtie, by her onely prerogative, ſeize

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the fruites and profites of thoſe fugitive lands into her handes, till they come over to teſtifie their true allegiance.

Iren. Indeede ſhee might ſo doe; but the comberous times doe perhappes hinder the regard thereof, and of many other good intentions.

Eudox. But why then did they not mend it in peaceable times?

Iren. Leave we that to their grave conſiderations, but proceed we forward. Next care in religion is to build up and repayre all the ruined churches, whereof the moſt part lye even with the ground, and ſome that have bin lately repayred are ſo unhandſomely patched, and thatched, that men doe even ſhunne the places for the uncomelineſſe thereof: therefore I would wiſhe that there were order taken to have them built in ſome better forme, according to the churches of England; for the outward ſhew (aſſure your ſelfe) doth greatly drawe the rude people to the reverencing and frequenting thereof, what ever ſome of our late too nice fooles ſay, there is nothing in the ſeemely forme and comely order of the church. And, for the keeping and continuing them, there ſhould likewiſe Church-wardens of the graveſt men in the pariſh be appointed, as they bee here in England, which ſhould take the yearely charge both hereof, and alſo of the ſchoole-houſes, which I wiſh to be built neere the ſaid churches; for maintenance of both which, it were meete that ſome ſmall portion of lands were allotted, ſith no more mortmaines are to be looked for.

Eudox. Indeede (me thinkes) it would be ſo convenient; but when all is done, how will you have your churches ſerved, and your Miniſters maintained? ſince the livings (as you ſay) are not ſufficient ſcarce to make them gownes, much leſſe to yeelde meete maintenance according to the dignity of their degree.

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Iren. There is no way to helpe that, but to lay 2. or 3. of them together, untill ſuch time as the countrey grow more rich and better inhabited, at which time the tythes and other obventions will alſo be more augmented and better valued: But now that we have thus gone through all the 3. ſorts of trades, and ſet a courſe for their good eſtabliſhment, let us (if it pleaſe you) goe next to ſome other needefull points of other publicke matters, no leſſe concerning the good of the commonwealth, though but accidentally depending on the former. And firſt I wiſh that order were taken for the cutting and opening of all places through woods, ſo that a wide way of the ſpace of 100. yards might be layde open in every of them for the ſafety of travellers, which uſe often in ſuch perillous places to be robbed, and ſometimes murdered. Next, that bridges were built upon the rivers, and all the fordes marred and ſplit, ſo as none might paſſe any other way but by thoſe bridges, and every bridge to have a gate and a gate-houſe ſet thereon; whereof this good will come that no night ſtealths, which are commonly driven in by-wayes and by blinde fordes unuſed of any but ſuch like, ſhall not be conveyed out of one country into another, as they uſe, but they muſt paſſe by thoſe bridges, where they may either be haply encountred, or eaſily tracked, or not ſuffered to paſſe at all, by meanes of thoſe gate-houſes thereon: Alſo that in all ſtraights and narrow paſſages, as betweene 2. boggs, or through any deeepe foord, or under any mountaine ſide, there ſhould be ſome little fortilage, or wooden caſtle ſet, which ſhould keepe and command that ſtraight, whereby any rebells that ſhould come into the country might be ſtopped that way, or paſſe with great perill. Moreover, that all high wayes ſhould be fenced and ſhut up on both ſides, leaving onely 40. foote bredth for paſſage, ſo as none ſhall be able to paſſe but through the high wayes,

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whereby theeves and night robbers might be the more eaſily purſued and encountred, when there ſhall be no other way to drive their ſtolne cattle but therein, as I formerly declared. Further, that there ſhould bee in ſundry convenient places, by the high wayes, townes appointed to bee built, the which ſhould be free Burgeſſes, and incorporate under Bayliffes, to be by their inhabitants well and ſtrongly intrenched, or otherwiſe fenced with gates on each ſide thereof, to be ſhut nightly, like as there is in many places in the Engliſh Pale, and all the wayes about it to be ſtrongly ſhut up, ſo as none ſhould paſſe but through thoſe townes: To ſome of which it were good that the priviledge of a market were given, the rather to ſtrengthen and inable them to their defence, for there is nothing doth ſooner cauſe civility in any countrie then many market townes, by reaſon that people repairing often thither for their needes, will dayly ſee and learne civil manners of the better ſort. Beſides, there is nothing doth more ſtay and ſtrengthen the country then ſuch corporate townes, as by proofe in many rebellions hath appeared, in which when all the countryes have ſwerved, the townes have ſtood faſt, and yeelded good releife to the ſouldiours in all occaſions of ſervices. And laſtly there is nothing doth more enrich any country or realme then many townes; for to them will all the people drawe and bring the fruites of their trades, aſwell to make money of them, as to ſupply their needefull uſes; and the countrymen will alſo be more induſtrious in tillage, and rearing of all huſbandry commodities, knowing that they ſhall have ready ſale for them at thoſe townes: and in all thoſe townes ſhould there be convenient innes erected for the lodging and harbouring of travellers, which are now oftentimes ſpoyled by lodging abroad in weake thatched houſes, for want of ſuch ſafe places to ſhroude them in.

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Eudox. But what profit ſhall your market townes reape of their market, when as each one may ſell their corne and cattle abroad in the country, and make their ſecret bargaines amongſt themſelves, as now I underſtand they uſe?

Iren. Indeede, Eudoxus, they do ſo, and thereby no ſmall inconvenience doth riſe to the commonwealth; for now, when any one hath ſtolne a cowe or a garron, he may ſecretly ſell it in the country without privity of any, wheras if he brought it to a market towne it would perhaps be knowne, and the theife diſcovered. Therefore it were good that a ſtraight ordinance were made, that none ſhould buy or ſell any cattle but in ſome open market (there being now market townes every where at hand) upon a great penalty; neither ſhould they likewiſe buy any corne to ſell the ſame againe, unleſſe it were to make malt thereof; for by ſuch ingroſing and regrating wee ſee the dearth that now commonly raigneth here in England to have beene cauſed. Hereunto alſo is to bee added that good ordinance, which I remember was once proclaimed throughout all Ireland, That all men ſhould marke their cattle with an open ſeverall marke upon their flanckes or buttockes, ſo as if they happened to be ſtolne, they might appeare whoſe they were, and they which ſhould buy them might thereby ſuſpect the owner, and be warned to abſtaine from buying them of a ſuſpected perſon with ſuch an unknowne marke.

Eudox. Surely theſe ordinances ſeeme very expedient, but ſpecially that of free townes, of which I wonder there is ſo ſmall ſtore in Ireland and that in the firſt peopling and planting thereof they were neglected and omitted.

Iren. They were not omitted; for there were, through all places of the country convenient, many good townes ſeated, which thorough that inundation of the Iriſh, which

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I firſt told you of, were utterly waſted and defaced, of which the ruines are yet in many places to be ſeene, and of ſome no ſigne at all remaining, ſave only their bare names, but their ſeats are not to be found.

Eudox. But how then commeth it to paſſe, that they have never ſince been recovered, nor their habitations reedified, as of the reſt which have beene no leſſe ſpoyled and waſted?

Iren. The cauſe thereof was for that, after their deſolation, they were begged by gentlemen of the Kings, under colour to repaire them and gather the poore reliques of the people againe together, of whom having obtained them, they were ſo farre from reedifying of them, as that by all meanes they have endeavoured to keepe them waſte, leaſt that, being repaired, their charters might be renewed, and their Burgeſſes reſtored to their lands, which they had now in their poſſeſſion; much like as in thoſe old monuments of abbeyes, and religious houſes, we ſee them likewiſe uſe to doe: For which cauſe it is judged that King Henry the Eight beſtowed them upon them, conceiving that thereby they ſhould never bee able to riſe againe. And even ſo doe theſe Lords, in theſe poore old corporate townes, of which I could name divers but for kindling of diſpleaſure. Therefore as I wiſhed many corporate townes to be erected, ſo would I againe wiſh them to be free, not depending upon the ſervice, nor under the commaund of any but the Governour. And being ſo, they will both ſtrengthen all the country round about them, which by their meanes will be the better repleniſhed and enriched, and alſo be as continuall houldes for her Majeſty, if the people ſhould revolt or breake out againe; for without ſuch it is eaſie to forrage and over-run the whole land. Let be, for enſample, all thoſe free-boroughes in the low-countryes, which are now all the ſtrength thereof. Theſe and

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other like ordinances might be delivered for the good eſtabliſhment of the realme, after it is once ſubdued and reformed, in which it might afterwards be very eaſily kept and maintained, with ſmall care of the Governours and Councell there appointed, ſo as it ſhould in ſhort ſpace yeeld a plentifull revenue to the crowne of England; which now doth but ſucke and conſume the treaſure thereof, through thoſe unſound plots and changefull orders which are dayly deviſed for her good, yet never effectually proſecuted or performed.

Eudox. But in all this your diſcourſe I have not marked any thing by you ſpoken touching the appointment of the principall Officer, to whom you wiſh the charge and performance of all this to be committed: Onely I obſerved ſome fowle abuſes by you noted in ſome of the late Governours, the reformation whereof you left of for this preſent place.

Iren. I delight not to lay open the blames of great Magiſtrates to the rebuke of the world, and therefore their reformation I will not meddle with, but leave unto the wiſedome of greater heads to be conſidered: only thus much I will ſpeake generally thereof, to ſatisfie your deſire, that the Government and cheife Magiſtracy I wiſh to continue as it doth; to wit, that it be ruled by a Lord Deputy or Juſtice, for that it is a very ſafe kinde of rule: but there-withall I wiſh that over him there were placed alſo a Lord Lieutenant, of ſome of the greateſt perſonages in England, ſuch a one I could name,[1] upon whom the eye of all England is fixed, and our laſt hopes now reſt; who being intituled with that dignity, and being here alwayes reſident, may backe and defend the good courſe of that government againſt all maligners, which elſe will, through their cunning working under

[1] *ſuch a one I could name,* &c.] Meaning the Earl of Eſſex. TODD.

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hand, deprave and pull back what ever thing ſhall be begun or intended there, as we commonly ſee by experience at this day, to the utter ruine and deſolation of that poore realme: and this Lieutenancy ſhould be no diſcountenancing of the Lord Deputy, but rather a ſtrengthning of all his doings; for now the cheife evill in that government is, that no Governour is ſuffered to goe on with any one courſe, but upon the leaſt information here, of this or that, hee is either ſtopped and croſſed, or other courſes appointed him from hence which he ſhall run, which how inconvenient it is, is at this houre too well felt. And therefore this ſhould be one principall in the appointing of the Lord Deputies authority, that it ſhould bee more ample and abſolute then it is, and that he ſhould have uncontrouled power to doe any thing that he with the adviſement of the Councell ſhould thinke meete to be done: for it is not poſſible for the Councell here, to direct a Governour there, who ſhall be forced oftentimes to follow the neceſſitie of preſent actions, and to take the ſuddaine advantage of time, which being once loſt will not bee recovered; whilſt, through expecting direction from hence, the delayes whereof are oftentimes through other greater affaires moſt irkeſome, the oportunityes there in the meane time paſſe away, and great danger often groweth, which by ſuch timely prevention might eaſily be ſtopped. And this (I remember) is worthily obſerved by Machiavel in his diſcourſes upon Livie, where he commendeth the manner of the Romans government, in giving abſolute power to all their Councellors and Governours, which if they abuſed, they ſhould afterwards dearely anſwere: And the contrary thereof he reprehendeth in the States of Venice, of Florence, and many other principalityes of Italy, who uſe to limit their cheife officers ſo ſtrictly, as that thereby they have oftentimes loſt ſuch happy occaſions as they

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could never come unto againe. The like whereof, who ſo hath beene converſant in that government of Ireland, hath too often ſeene to their great hinderance and hurt. Therefore this I could wiſh to be redreſſed, and yet not ſo but that in particular things he ſhould be reſtrained, though not in the generall government; as namely in this, that no offices ſhould bee ſould by the Lord Deputy for money, nor no pardons, nor no protections bought for reward, nor no beoves taken for Captainries of countryes, nor no ſhares of Biſhopricks for nominating Biſhops, nor no forfeytures, nor diſpenſations with pœnall Statutes given to their ſervants or friends, nor no ſelling of licences for tranſportation of prohibited wares, and ſpecially of corne and fleſh, with many the like; which neede ſome manner of reſtrainte, or elſe very great truſt in the honorable diſpoſition of the Lord Deputy.

Thus I have, Eudoxus, as briefly as I could, and as my memorie would ſerve me, run through the ſtate of that whole country, both to let you ſee what it now is, and alſo what it may bee by good care and amendment: Not that I take upon me to change the policy of ſo great a kingdome, or preſcribe rules to ſuch wiſe men as have the handling thereof, but onely to ſhew you the evills, which in my ſmall experience I have obſerved to be the cheife hinderance of the reformation; and by way of conference to declare my ſimple opinion for the redreſſe thereof, and eſtabliſhing a good courſe for government; which I doe not deliver as a perfect plot of mine owne invention, to be onely followed, but as I have learned and underſtood the ſame by the conſultations and actions of very wiſe Governours and Councellours whom I have (ſometimes) heard treate hereof. So have I thought good to ſet downe a remembrance of them for my owne good, and your ſatisfaction, that who ſo liſt to overlooke them, although perhaps much wiſer then they

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which have thus adviſed of that ſtate, yet at leaſt, by compariſon hereof, may perhaps better his owne judgment, and by the light of others fore-going him may follow after with more eaſe, and haply finde a fairer way thereunto then they which have gone before.

Eudox. I thanke you, Irenæus, for this your gentle paines; withall not forgetting, now in the ſhutting up, to put you in minde of that which you have formerly halfe promiſed, that hereafter when wee ſhall meete againe upon the like good occaſion, you will declare unto us thoſe your obſervations which you have gathered of the Antiquities of Ireland.

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ABORD, acroſs, iv. 356
Abrayd, to awake, to rouſe, ii. 359; iii. 149, 173, 184
Abye, to abide, to ſuffer for, ii. 155, 226, 417, 453; iii. 178, 352; iv. 250
Acates, proviſions, ii. 249
Accloy, or *acloy*, to burden, to encumber, i. 27, 198
Accoſte, to go ſide by ſide, iv. 15
Accoy, to coy, to careſs, iii. 230
Acoy, to reduce, to aſſuage, i. 23
Accoyld, encircled, ii. 249
Accrew, to increaſe, iii. 182
Acquit, to releaſe, to free, i. 300
Adaw, to daunt, to ſubdue, to reduce, i. 27; iii. 185, 387, 455
Addeem, to judge, to doom, iv. 164
Addreſs, to clothe, iv. 187
Addreſt, prepared, iii. 147
Adore, to adorn, iii. 289
Adrad, fearful, iv. 365
Advengement, revenge, iii. 126
Adview, to obſerve, to ſee, iii. 346
Adviſing, looking at, iii. 112
Adward, award, iii. 255
Æmuling, emulating, v. 34
Ætna, a volcano, ii. 374
Affrap, to encounter, to meet, to ſtrike, ii. 94, 364
Affret, an encounter, a meeting, iii. 6, 109, 125
Affront, to encounter, to confront, to oppoſe, i. 306; ii. 165, 406; iii. 130
Aggrate, to gratify, to propitiate, ii. 462; iv. 8
Aglet, point, tag, iv. 60
Agriſe, to dread, to terrify, ii. 190; iii. 214; iv. 264
Aguize, to dreſs, to adorn, ii. 96, 175; iv. 408
Alablaſter, alabaſter, ii. 377
Alegge, to alleviate, to allay, ii. 367
Alew, howling, iii. 396
Algates, entirely, all manner of ways, ii. 87
Alleggeance, alleviation, ii. 440
Alls, alſo, likewiſe, i. 157
Amate, to confound, to daunt, ii. 110; iii. 49; iv. 248
Amenance, carriage, behaviour, ii. 222, 240; iii. 124; iv. 413
Amis, a kind of veſtment, i. 232
And for *ing*, the participle, i. 86
Apaid, ſatisfied, paid, ii. 314; iv. 23
Apes on the ſhoulders of fools, iii. 12
Appele, to accuſe, iii. 457
Appellation, appeal, iv. 254
Arew, on a row, iv. 33; v. 88
Arraught, ſeized, reached, ii. 272
Arret, to allot, to appoint, ii. 218, 289, 488; iii. 166
Aſſoil, to abſolve, to free, ii. 40, 165, 496; iii. 194; iv. 276; v. 121

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Aſſot, to beſot, to ſtupify, to dull, i. 36; ii. 263
Aſtert, to affright, to alarm, i. 131
Aſtoined, or *aſtonied*, aſtoniſhed, ſurpriſed, v. 12
Aſtond, ſtunned, i. 206
Atone, at one, ii. 95
Attone, to agree, to accord, v. 2
Attone, at once, iii. 2, 244
Avale, to lower, to deſcend, to alight, i. 19, 111, 183; ii. 242; iii. 139, 256
Avize, or *Aviſe*, adviſe, iii. 71
Avoure, avowry, iv. 91
Awhape, to terrify, to frighten, iii. 195; iv. 12, 388
Aygulets, or *aglets*, eyelets, ii. 134

Bace, priſoner's baſe, or bace, i. 115; iii. 425
Baffle, to diſgrace utterly, iii. 352
Baile, power, limit, iv. 258
Balk, to croſs, to baffle, ii. 366
Balk, to diſappoint, to defeat, to treat with contempt, iii. 258
Balk, a ridge, a furrow, iv. 213
Ban, to forbid, ii. 377
Ban, to curſe, iii. 236, 327; iv. 5; v. 212
Bayneral, a ſmall flag, iv. 147
Barbican, a watch-tower, ii. 247
Baſanet, head-piece, iv. 52
Baſcimans, kiſſing hands, ii. 357
Bate, bit, or did bite, ii. 161
Batteilant, embattled, v. 5
Battil, to fatten, iv. 169
Bawn, building, habitation, v. 389
Bay, a ſtand-ſtill, iii. 190
Beathed, bathed, plunged, iii. 195
Beauperes, fair companions, ii. 350
Bebave, to employ, to uſe, ii. 139
Bebigbt, called, deemed, judged, i. 63; iii. 100
Bebigbt, commanded, ii. 293
Bebigbt, entruſted, committed, ii. 39, 219; iii. 443
Bebigbt, promiſed, ii. 125; iii. 156, 189, 274
Belaccoyle, fair ſalutation, or greeting, iii. 184
Belay, to beſiege, to inveſt, to beleaguer, v. 123
Belgardes, ſweet looks, ii. 134
Belive, promptly, quickly, i. 110, 256
Bellamy, a fair friend, a ſweetheart, ii. 211
Bents, ſtalks of graſs, iv. 95
Beſits, beſuits, befits, becomes, ii. 196; iii. 110
Betake, to commit, entruſt, deliver, ii. 75; iv. 225
Beteem, to allow, to ſuffer, ii. 222
Bid the baſe, to challenge as to ſpeed, iii. 44
Blatter, to rail, to rage, v. 317
Blend, to blind, to confound, ii. 332; iii. 135; v. 148
Blent, blinded, confounded, confuſed, ii. 144, 160
Blent, blended, mingled, iv. 43
Blin, to ceaſe, ii. 433
Bliſt, wounded, iv. 161
Blive, quickly, ſpeedily, ii. 131
Blunt, ignorant, rude, v. 57
Bodrages, border ravages, ii. 282; v. 42
Bolt, to ſift, to canvaſs, ii. 150
Bolts, arrows, ſhafts, i. 38
Boon, goods, &c. obtained by petition, ii. 476
Bord, to accoſt, to approach, to advance towards, ii. 109, 150
Bord, a jeſt, a gibe, a quip, ii. 388; iii. 146
Bordragings, incurſions, ravages, ii. 282; v. 42
Borrel, ruſtic, clowniſh, i. 83
Borrow, pledge, ſecurity, i. 60, 105; iv. 416; v. 477
Boughts, bouts, twiſts, folds, ii. 51
Bourdon, burden, v. 92
Bourn, a boundary, a ſtream, ii. 177
Bouzing, drinking, i. 234
Bowers, benders, muſcles, i. 315
Brame, bitter, violent, ii. 381
Branſles, brawls, dances, iii. 22
Breme, violent, hot, i. 23; iv. 277
Bren, to burn, iii. 138
Brickle, brittle, iii. 263; iv. 315

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Brize, the gadfly, iv. 49; v. 2
Broom, gorſe, furze, iv. 177
Bruſh, to bruiſe, iv. 26
Bruſt, burſt, broke, ii. 354, 388
Bug, monſter, object of terror, ii. 132, 313
Burden, a club, iv. 154
Burganet, a helmet, ii. 233
Buxom, yielding, obedient, ii. 60, 370, 415; iv. 161, 407
By and by, immediately, preſently, i. 302; iv. 271
Bylive, and *belive*, active, quick, ii. 3, 222, 344; iii. 24, 369
Bynempt, took, ii. 107
Bynempt, named, mentioned, i. 87

Camis, a chemiſe, iii. 373
Camus, a ſhift, ii. 134
Can, for gan, began, ii. 309; iii. 130, 353
Cantred, hundred, diſtrict, v. 475
Capuccio, a hood, iii. 65
Carke, care, load, i. 190
Carl, churl, ii. 20
Caſt, a couple, brace, iv. 141
Caſt, throw, time, iv. 174
Caſtory, a colour, ii. 253
Cauſen, to explain, to tell, iii. 10
Cautelous, cautious, v. 320
Ceſs, to ceaſe, iii. 234
Chaffar, to exchange, to bargain, iv. 427
Chamelot water, camlet watered, iii. 289
Chamfred, wrinkled, furrowed, i. 23
Charm, to enchant, to bewitch, iii. 389, 447
Charm, a ſong, an incantation, a ſpell, iv. 336
Charming, tuning, playing, v. 31
Chaw, the jaw, i. 237
Chayre, dear, chary, ii. 443
Checklaton, a rich kind of oriental ſtuff, iv. 153
Cherry, to cheriſh, to cheer, iv. 198
Cheviſance, enterpriſe, bargain, dealing, i. 59; ii. 241, 480
Child (ſee alſo *Infant*), knight, iv. 4
Cleep, to call, to name, ii. 128
Cloſely, ſecretly, iv. 227
Cloyed, wounded, ii. 461
Cogiſh, affinity, v. 336
Coll, to embrace the neck, ii. 374
Commen, to commune, iii. 443
Comment, to deviſe, to feign, iv. 283
Company, companion, iii. 97
Compare, to procure, to obtain, to accumulate, i. 236
Compaſſion, to compaſſionate, to pity, iv. 340
Compaſt, round, iii. 152
Complement, completion, ii. 416
Complines, evening ſong, iv. 401
Concrew, to grow together, iii. 207
Condition, inward or mental qualities, iii. 456
Confuſed, commingled, v. 247
Contain, to retain, ii. 272
Conteck, conteſt, ii. 360
Contraire, to oppoſe, to contrary, iv. 244
Contrive, to wear away, to ſpend, ii. 255
Convince, to conquer, ii. 370
Copeſmate, fellow-dealer, iv. 419
Corb, crooked, bent, i. 24
Corbes, corbels, iii. 251
Cordwayne, Cordovan leather, ii. 135; iv. 60
Corſive, corroſive, iii. 238
Cott, a little boat, ii. 176
Could, knew, iv. 120
Counterfeſaunce, counterfeiting, imitation, iv. 334, 408
Counterpeiſe, to counterpoiſe, to counterbalance, iii. 336
Cour, to cover, to cower, ii. 219
Covetize, covetouſneſs, iv. 309
Cowardree, cowardice, iv. 421
Crakè, to boaſt, to brag, to vaunt, iii. 345; iv. 281
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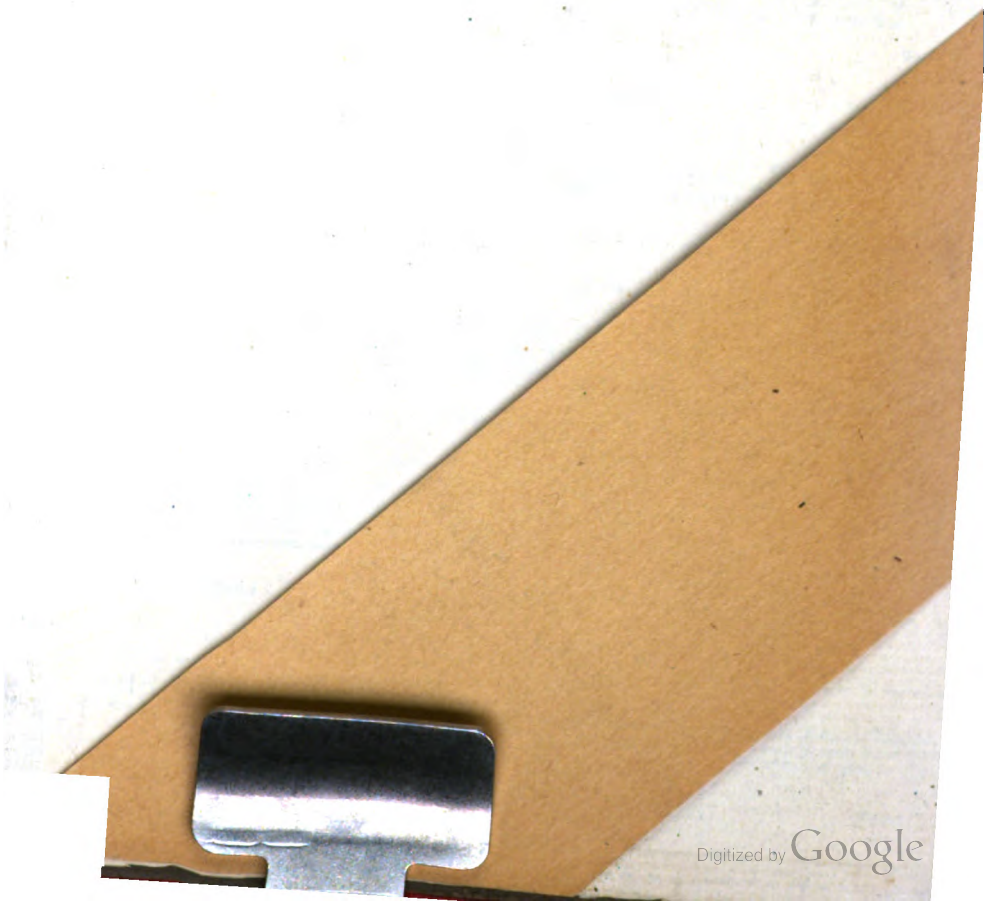

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